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MINNESOTA

EXPLORERS AND PIONEERS

FROM

A. D. 1659 TO A. D. 1858,

BY THE

REV. EDWARD DUFFIELD NEILL,

PRESIDENT OF MACALESTER COLLEGE,
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ETC.; AUTHOR OF "VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON," "ENGLISH COLONIZATION OF AMERICA," "FAIRFAXES OF ENGLAND AND AMERICA," "TERRA MARIÆ," "HISTORY OF MINNESOTA," "FOUNDERS OF MARYLAND."

"Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit id semper esse puerum."

PREPARED FOR

NORTH STAR PUBLISHING COMPANY.
GEO. R. WARNER. CHAS. M. FOOTE.

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PIONEERS OF MINNESOTA.

CHAPTER I.

FOOTPRINTS OF CIVILIZATION TOWARD THE EXTREMITY OF LAKE SUPERIOR.

Minnesota's Central Position.—D'Avagour's Prediction.—Nicolet's Visit to Green Bay.—First White Men in Minnesota.—Notices of Groselliers and Radisson.—Hurons Flee to Minnesota.—Visited by Frenchmen.—Father Menard Disappears.—Groselliers Visits Hudson's Bay.—Father Allonez Describes the Sioux Mission at La Pointe.—Father Marquette.—Sioux at Sault St. Marie.—Jesuit Missions Fail.—Groselliers Visits England.—Captain Gillam, of Boston, at Hudson's Bay.—Letter of Mother Superior of Ursulines., at Quebec.—Death of Groselliers.

The Dakotahs, called by the Ojibways, Nadowaysioux, or Sioux (Soos), as abbreviatsd by the French, used to claim superiority over other people, because, their sacred men asserted that the mouth of the Minnesota River was immediately over the centre of the earth, and below the centre of the heavens.

While this teaching is very different from that of the modern astronomer, it is certainly true, that the region west of Lake Superior, extending through the valley of the Minnesota, to the Missouri River, is one of the most healthful and fertile regions beneath the skies, and may prove to be the centre of the republic of the United States of America. Baron D'Avagour, a brave officer, who was killed in fighting the Turks, while he was Governor of Canada, in a dispatch to the French Government, dated August 14th, 1663, after referring to Lake Huron, wrote, that beyond "is met another, called Lake Superior, the waters of which, it is believed, flow into New Spain, and *this, according to general opinion, ought to be the centre of the country.*"

As early as 1635, one of Champlain's interpreters, Jean Nicolet (Nicolay), who came to Canada in 1618, reached the western shores of Lake Michigan. In the summer of 1634 he ascended the St. Lawrence, with a party of Hurons, and probably during the next winter was trading at Green Bay, in Wisconsin. On the ninth of December, 1635, he had returned to Canada, and on the 7th of October, 1637, was married at Quebec, and the next month, went to Three Rivers, where he lived until 1642, when he died. Of him it is said, in a letter written in 1640, that he had penetrated farthest into those distant countries, and that if he had proceeded "three days more on a great river which flows from that lake [Green Bay] he would have found the sea."

The first white men in Minnesota, of whom we have any record, were, according to Garneau, two persons of Huguenot affinities, Medard Chouart, known as Sieur Groselliers, and Pierre d'Esprit, called Sieur Radisson.

Groselliers (pronounced Gro-zay-yay) was born near Ferte-sous-Jouarre, eleven miles east of Meaux, in France, and when about sixteen years of age, in the year 1641, came to Canada. The fur trade was the great avenue to prosperity, and in 1646, he was among the Huron Indians, who then dwelt upon the eastern shore of Lake Huron, bartering for peltries. On the second of September, 1647, at Quebec, he was married to Helen, the widow of Claude Etienne, who was the daughter of a pilot, Abraham Martin, whose baptismal name is still attached to the suburbs of that city, the "Plains of Abraham," made famous by the death there, of General Wolfe, of the English army, in 1759, and of General Montgomery, of the Continental army, in December, 1775, at the

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commencement of the "War for Independence." His son, Medard, was born in 1657, and the next year his mother died. The second wife of Groselliers was Marguerite Hayet (Hayay) Radisson, the sister of his associate, in the exploration of the region west of Lake Superior.

Radisson was born at St. Malo, and, while a boy, went to Paris, and from thence to Canada, and in 1656, at Three Rivers, married Elizabeth, the daughter of Madeleine Hainault, and, after her death, the daughter of Sir David Kirk or Kerkt, a zealous Huguenot, became his wife.

The Iroquois of New York, about the year 1650, drove the Hurons from their villages, and forced them to take refuge with their friends the Tionontates, called by the French, Petuns, because they cultivated tobacco. In time the Hurons and their allies, the Ottawas (Ottaw-waws), were again driven by the Iroquois, and after successive wanderings, were found on the west side of Lake Michigan. In time they reached the Mississippi, and ascending above the Wisconsin, they found the Iowa River, on the west side, which they followed, and dwelt for a time with the Ayoes (Ioways) who were very friendly; but being accustomed to a country of lakes and forests, they were not satisfied with the vast prairies. Returning to the Mississippi, they ascended this river, in search of a better land, and were met by some of the Sioux or Dakotahs, and conducted to their villages, where they were well received. The Sioux, delighted with the axes, knives and awls of European manufacture, which had been presented to them, allowed the refugees to settle upon an island in the Mississippi, below the mouth of the St. Croix River, called Bald Island from the absence of trees, about nine miles from the site of the present city of Hastings. Possessed of firearms, the Hurons and Ottawas asserted their superiority, and determined to conquer the country for themselves, and having incurred the hostility of the Sioux, were obliged to flee from the isle in the Mississippi. Descending below Lake Pepin, they reached the Black River, and ascending it, found an unoccupied country around its sources and that of the Chippeway. In this region the Hurons established themselves, while their allies, the Ottawas, moved eastward, till they found the shores of Lake Superior, and settled at Chagouamikon (Sha-gah-wah-mik-ong) near what is now Bayfield. In the year 1659, Groselliers and Radisson arrived at Chagouamikon, and determined to visit the Hurons and Petuns, with whom the former had traded when they resided east of Lake Huron. After a six days' journey, in a southwesterly direction, they reached their retreat toward the sources of the Black, Chippewa, and Wisconsin Rivers. From this point they journeyed north, and passed the winter of 1659-60 among the "Nadouechiouec," or Sioux villages in the Mille Lacs (Mil Lak) region. From the Hurons they learned of a beautiful river, wide, large, deep, and comparable with the Saint Lawrence, the great Mississippi, which flows through the city of Minneapolis, and whose sources are in northern Minnesota.

Northeast of Mille Lacs, toward the extremity of Lake Superior, they met the "Poualak," or Assiniboines of the prairie, a separated band of the Sioux, who, as wood was scarce and small, made fire with coal (charbon de terre) and dwelt in tents of skins; although some of the more industrious built cabins of clay (terre grasse), like the swallows build their nests.

The spring and summer of 1660, Groselliers and Radisson passed in trading around Lake Superior. On the 19th of August they returned to Montreal, with three hundred Indians and sixty canoes loaded with "a wealth of skins."

> "Furs of bison and of beaver,
> Furs of sable and of ermine."

The citizens were deeply stirred by the travelers' tales of the vastness and richness of the region they had visited, and their many romantic adventures. In a few days, they began their return to the far West, accompanied by six Frenchmen and two priests, one of whom was the Jesuit, Rene Menard. His hair whitened by age, and his mind ripened by long experience, he seemed the man for the mission. Two hours after midnight, of the day before departure, the venerable missionary penned at "Three Rivers," the following letter to a friend:

'REVEREND FATHER:

"The peace of Christ be with you: I write to you probably the last, which I hope will be the seal of our friendship until eternity. Love whom the Lord Jesus did not disdain to love, though the greatest of sinners; for he loves whom he

loads with his cross. Let your friendship, my good Father, be useful to me by the desirable fruits of your daily sacrifice.

"In three or four months you may remember me at the memento for the dead, on account of my old age, my weak constitution and the hardships I lay under amongst these tribes. Nevertheless, I am in peace, for I have not been led to this mission by any temporal motive, but I think it was by the voice of God. I was to resist the grace of God by not coming. Eternal remorse would have tormented me, had I not come when I had the opportunity.

"We have been a little surprized, not being able to provide ourselves with vestments and other things, but he who feeds the little birds, and clothes the lilies of the fields, will take care of his servants; and though it should happen we should die of want, we would esteem ourselves happy. I am burdened with business. What I can do is to recommend our journey to your daily sacrifice, and to embrace you with the same sentiments of heart as I hope to do in eternity.

"My Reverend Father,

Your most humble and affectionate servant in Jesus Christ.

R. MENARD.

"From the Three Rivers, this 26th August, 2 o'clock after midnight, 1660."

On the 15th of October, the party with which he journeyed reached a bay on Lake Superior, where he found some of the Ottawas, who had fled from the Iroquois of New York. For more than eight months, surrounded by a few French voyageurs, he lived, to use his words, "in a kind of small hermitage, a cabin built of fir branches piled one on another, not so much to shield us from the rigor of the season as to correct my imagination, and persuade me I was sheltered."

During the summer of 1661, he resolved to visit the Hurons, who had fled eastward from the Sioux of Minnesota, and encamped amid the marshes of Northern Wisconsin. Some Frenchmen, who had been among the Hurons, in vain attempted to dissuade him from the journey. To their entreaties he replied, "I must go, if it cost me my life. I can not suffer souls to perish on the ground of saving the bodily life of a miserable old man like myself. What! Are we to serve God only when there is nothing to suffer, and no risk of life?"

Upon De l'Isle's map of Louisiana, published nearly two centuries ago, there appears the Lake of the Ottawas, and the Lake of the Old or Deserted Settlement, west of Green Bay, and south of Lake Superior. The Lake of the Old Plantation is supposed to have been the spot occupied by the Hurons at the time when Menard attempted to visit them. One way of access to this secluded spot was from Lake Superior to the headwaters of the Ontanagon River, and then by a portage, to the lake. It could also be reached from the headwaters of the Wisconsin, Black and Chippewa Rivers, and some have said that Menard descended the Wisconsin and ascended the Black River.

Perrot, who lived at the same time, writes: "Father Menard, who was sent as missionary among the Outaouas [Utaw-waws] accompanied by certain Frenchmen who were going to trade with that people, was left by all who were with him, except one, who rendered to him until death, all of the services and help that he could have hoped. The Father followed the Outaouas [Utaw-waws] to the Lake of the Illinoets [Illino-ay, now Michigan] and in their flight to the Louisianne, [Mississippi] to above the Black River. There this missionary had but one Frenchman for a companion. This Frenchman carefully followed the route, and made a portage at the same place as the Outaouas. He found himself in a rapid, one day, that was carrying him away in his canoe. The Father, to assist, debarked from his own, but did not find a good path to come to him. He entered one that had been made by beasts, and desiring to return, became confused in a labyrinth of trees, and was lost. The Frenchman, after having ascended the rapids with great labor, awaited the good Father, and, as he did not come, resolved to search for him. With all his might, for several days, he called his name in the woods, hoping to find him, but it was useless. He met, however, a Sakis [Sauk] who was carrying the camp-kettle of the missionary, and who gave him some intelligence. He assured him that he had found his foot-prints at some distance, but that he had not seen the Father. He told him, also, that he had found the tracks of several, who were going towards the Scioux. He declared that he supposed that the Scioux might have killed or captured him. Indeed, several years afterwards,

there were found among this tribe, his breviary and cassock, which they exposed at their festivals, making offerings to them of food."

In a journal of the Jesuits, Menard, about the seventh or eighth of August, 1661, is said to have been lost.

Groselliers (Gro-zay-yay), while Menard was endeavoring to reach the retreat of the Hurons, which he had made known to the authorities of Canada, was pushing through the country of the Assineboines, on the northwest shore of Lake Superior, and at length, probably by Lake Alempigon, or Nepigon, reached Hudson's Bay, and early in May, 1662, returned to Montreal, and surprised its citizens with his tale of new discoveries toward the Sea of the North.

The Hurons did not remain long toward the sources of the Black River, after Menard's disappearance, and deserting their plantations, joined their allies, the Ottawas, at La Pointe, now Bayfield, on Lake Superior. While here, they determined to send a war party of one hundred against the Sioux of Mille Lacs (Mil Lak) region. At length they met their foes, who drove them into one of the thousand marshes of the water-shed between Lake Superior and the Mississippi, where they hid themselves among the tall grasses. The Sioux, suspecting that they might attempt to escape in the night, cut up beaver skins into strips, and hung thereon little bells, which they had obtained from the French traders. The Hurons, emerging from their watery hiding place, stumbled over the unseen cords, ringing the bells, and the Sioux instantly attacked, killing all but one.

About the year 1665, four Frenchmen visited the Sioux of Minnesota, from the west end of Lake Superior, accompanied by an Ottawa chief, and in the summer of the same year, a flotilla of canoes laden with peltries, came down to Montreal. Upon their return, on the eighth of August, the Jesuit Father, Allouez, accompanied the traders, and, by the first of October, reached Chegoimegon Bay, on or near the site of the modern town of Bayfield, on Lake Superior, where he found the refugee Hurons and Ottawas. While on an excursion to Lake Alempigon, now Nepigon, this missionary saw, near the mouth of Saint Louis River, in Minnesota, some of the Sioux. He writes: "There is a tribe to the west of this, toward the great river called Messipi. They are forty or fifty leagues from here, in a country of prairies, abounding in all kinds of game. They have fields, in which they do not sow Indian corn, but only tobacco. Providence has provided them with a species of marsh rice, which, toward the end of summer, they go to collect in certain small lakes, that are covered with it. They presented me with some when I was at the extremity of Lake Tracy [Superior], where I saw them. They do not use the gun, but only the bow and arrow with great dexterity. Their cabins are not covered with bark, but with deer-skins well dried, and stitched together so that the cold does not enter. These people are above all other savage and warlike. In our presence they seem abashed, and were motionless as statues. They speak a language entirely unknown to us, and the savages about here do not understand them."

The mission at La Pointe was not encouraging, and Allouez, "weary of their obstinate unbelief," departed, but Marquette succeeded him for a brief period.

The "*Relations*" of the Jesuits for 1670–71, allude to the Sioux or Dakotahs, and their attack upon the refugees at La Pointe:

"There are certain people called Nadoussi, dreaded by their neighbors, and although they only use the bow and arrow, they use it with so much skill and dexterity, that in a moment they fill the air. After the Parthian method, they turn their heads in flight, and discharge their arrows so rapidly that they are to be feared no less in their retreat than in their attack.

"They dwell on the shores and around the great river Messipi, of which we shall speak. They number no less than fifteen populous towns, and yet they know not how to cultivate the earth by seeding it, contenting themselves with a sort of marsh rye, which we call wild oats.

"For sixty leagues from the extremity of the upper lakes, towards sunset, and, as it were, in the centre of the western nations, they have all united their force by a general league, which has been made against them, as against a common enemy.

"They speak a peculiar language, entirely distinct from that of the Algonquins and Hurons, whom they generally surpass in generosity, since they often content themselves with the glory of

having obtained the victory, and release the prisoners they have taken in battle.

"Our Outouacs of the Point of the Holy Ghost [La Pointe, now Bayfield] had to the present time kept up a kind of peace with them, but affairs having become embroiled during last winter, and some murders having been committed on both sides, our savages had reason to apprehend that the storm would soon burst upon them, and judged that it was safer for them to leave the place, which in fact they did in the spring."

Marquette, on the 13th of September, 1669, writes: "The Nadouessi are the Iroquois of this country. * * * they lie northwest of the Mission of the Holy Ghost [La Pointe, the modern Bayfield] and we have not yet visited them, having confined ourselves to the conversion of the Ottawas."

Soon after this, hostilities began between the Sioux and the Hurons and Ottawas of La Pointe, and the former compelled their foes to seek another resting place, toward the eastern extremity of Lake Superior, and at length they pitched their tents at Mackinaw.

In 1674, some Sioux warriors came down to Sault Saint Marie, to make a treaty of peace with adjacent tribes. A friend of the Abbe de Gallinee wrote that a council was had at the fort to which "the Nadouessioux sent twelve deputies, and the others forty. During the conference, one of the latter, knife in hand, drew near the breast of one of the Nadouessioux, who showed surprise at the movement; when the Indian with the knife reproached him for cowardice. The Nadouessioux said he was not afraid, when the other planted the knife in his heart, and killed him. All the savages then engaged in conflict, and the Nadouessioux bravely defended themselves, but, overwhelmed by numbers, nine of them were killed. The two who survived rushed into the chapel, and closed the door. Here they found munitions of war, and fired guns at their enemies, who became anxious to burn down the chapel, but the Jesuits would not permit it, because they had their skins stored between its roof and ceiling. In this extremity, a Jesuit, Louis Le Boeme, advised that a cannon should be pointed at the door, which was discharged, and the two brave Sioux were killed."

Governor Frontenac of Canada, was indignant at the occurrence, and in a letter to Colbert, one of the Ministers of Louis the Fourteenth, speaks in condemnation of this discharge of a cannon by a Brother attached to the Jesuit Mission.

From this period, the missions of the Church of Rome, near Lake Superior, began to wane. Shea, a devout historian of that church, writes: "In 1680, Father Enjalran was apparently alone at Green Bay, and Pierson at Mackinaw; the latter mission still comprising the two villages, Huron and Kiskakon. Of the other missions, neither Le Clerq nor Hennepin, the Recollect, writers of the West at this time, makes any mention, or in any way alludes to their existence, and La Hontan mentions the Jesuit missions only to ridicule them."

The Pigeon River, a part of the northern boundary of Minnesota, was called on the French maps Groseilier's River, after the first explorer of Minnesota, whose career, with his associate Radisson, became quite prominent in connection with the Hudson Bay region.

A disagreement occurring between Groselliers and his partners in Quebec, he proceeded to Paris, and from thence to London, where he was introduced to the nephew of Charles I., who led the cavalry charge against Fairfax and Cromwell at Naseby, afterwards commander of the English fleet. The Prince listened with pleasure to the narrative of travel, and endorsed the plans for prosecuting the fur trade and seeking a northwest passage to Asia. The scientific men of England were also full of the enterprise, in the hope that it would increase a knowledge of nature. The Secretary of the Royal Society wrote to Robert Boyle, the distinguished philosopher, a too sanguine letter. His words were: "Surely I need not tell you from hence what is said here, with great joy, of the discovery of a northwest passage; and by two Englishmen and one Frenchman represented to his Majesty at Oxford, and answered by the grant of a vessel to sail into Hudson's Bay and channel into the South Sea."

The ship Nonsuch was fitted out, in charge of Captain Zachary Gillam, a son of one of the early settlers of Boston; and in this vessel Groselliers and Radisson left the Thames, in June, 1668, and in September reached a tributary of Hudson's Bay. The next year, by way of Boston, they returned to England, and in 1670, a trading com-

pany was chartered, still known among venerable English corporations as "The Hudson's Bay Company."

The Reverend Mother of the Incarnation, Superior of the Ursulines of Quebec, in a letter of the 27th of August, 1670, writes thus:

"It was about this time that a Frenchman of our Touraine, named des Groselliers, married in this country, and as he had not been successful in making a fortune, was seized with a fancy to go to New England to better his condition. He excited a hope among the English that he had found a passage to the Sea of the North. With this expectation, he was sent as an envoy to England, where there was given to him, a vessel, with crew and every thing necessary for the voyage. With these advantages, he put to sea, and in place of the usual route, which others had taken in vain, he sailed in another direction, and searched so wide, that he found the grand Bay of the North. He found large population, and filled his ship or ships with peltries of great value. * * * He has taken possession of this great region for the King of England, and for his personal benefit A publication for the benefit of this French adventurer, has been made in England. He was a youth when he arrived here, and his wife and children are yet here."

Talon, Intendent of Justice in Canada, in a dispatch to Colbert, Minister of the Colonial Department of France, wrote on the 10th of November, 1670, that he has received intelligence that two English vessels are approaching Hudson's Bay, and adds: "After reflecting on all the nations that might have penetrated as far north as that, I can alight on only the English, who, under the guidance of a man named Des Grozellers, formerly an inhabitant of Canada, might possibly have attempted that navigation."

After years of service on the shores of Hudson's Bay, either with English or French trading companies, the old explorer died in Canada, and it has been said that his son went to England, where he was living in 1696, in receipt of a pension.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY MENTION OF LAKE SUPERIOR COPPER.

Sagard, A. D. 1636, on Copper Mines.—Boucher, A. D. 1640, Describes Lake Superior Copper.—Jesuit Relations, A. D. 1666–67.—Copper on Isle Royals.—Half-Breed Voyageur Goes to France with Talon.—Jolliet and Perrot Search for Copper.—St. Lusson Plants the French Arms at Sault St. Marie.—Copper at Ontanagon and Head of Lake Superior.

Before white men had explored the shores of Lake Superior, Indians had brought to the trading posts of the St. Lawrence River, specimens of copper from that region. Sagard, in his History of Canada, published in 1636, at Paris, writes: "There are mines of copper which might be made profitable, if there were inhabitants and workmen who would labor faithfully. That would be done if colonies were established. About eighty or one hundred leagues from the Hurons, there is a mine of copper, from which Truchemont Brusle showed me an ingot, on his return from a voyage which he made to the neighboring nation."

Pierre Boucher, grandfather of Sieur de la Verendrye, the explorer of the lakes of the northern boundary of Minnesota, in a volume published A. D. 1640, also at Paris, writes: "In Lake Superior there is a great island, fifty or one hundred leagues in circumference, in which there is a very beautiful mine of copper. There are other places in those quarters, where there are similar mines; so I learned from four or five Frenchmen, who lately returned. They were gone three years, without finding an opportunity to return; they told me that they had seen an ingot of copper all refined which was on the coast, and weighed more than eight hundred pounds, according to their estimate. They said that the savages, on passing it, made a fire on it, after which they cut off pieces with their axes."

In the Jesuit Relations of 1666–67, there is this description of Isle Royale: "Advancing to a place called the Grand Anse, we meet with an island, three leagues from land, which is celebrated for the metal which is found there, and for the thunder which takes place there; for they say it always thunders there.

"But farther towards the west on the same north shore, is the island most famous for copper, Minong (Isle Royale). This island is twenty-five leagues in length; it is seven from the mainland, and sixty from the head of the lake. Nearly all around the island, on the water's edge, pieces of copper are found mixed with pebbles, but especially on the side which is opposite the south, and principally in a certain bay, which is near the northeast exposure to the great lake. * * *

"Advancing to the head of the lake (Fon du Lac) and returning one day's journey by the south coast, there is seen on the edge of the water, a rock of copper weighing seven or eight hundred pounds, and is so hard that steel can hardly cut it, but when it is heated it cuts as easily as lead. Near Point Chagouamigong [Sha-gah-wah-mik-ong, near Bayfield] where a mission was established rocks of copper and plates of the same metal were found. * * * Returning still toward the mouth of the lake, following the coast on the south as twenty leagues from the place last mentioned, we enter the river called Nantaouagan [Ontonagon] on which is a hill where stones and copper fall into the water or upon the earth. They are readily found.

"Three years since we received a piece which was brought from this place, which weighed a hundred pounds, and we sent it to Quebec to Mr. Talon. It is not certain exactly where this was broken from. We think it was from the forks of the river; others, that it was from near the lake, and dug up."

Talon, Intendent of Justice in Canada, visited France, taking a half-breed voyageur with him, and while in Paris, wrote on the 26th of February, 1669, to Colbert, the Minister of the Marine Department, "that this voyageur had penetrated among the western nations farther than any other Frenchman, and had seen the copper mine on Lake Huron. [Superior?] The man offers to go

to that mine, and explore, either by sea, or by lake and river, the communication supposed to exist between Canada and the South Sea, or to the regions of Hudson's Bay."

As soon as Talon returned to Canada he commissioned Jolliet and Pere [Perrot] to search for the mines of copper on the upper Lakes. Jolliet received an outfit of four hundred livres, and four canoes, and Perrot one thousand livres. Minister Colbert wrote from Paris to Talon, in February, 1671, approving of the search for copper, in these words: "The resolution you have taken to send Sieur de La Salle toward the south, and Sieur de St. Lusson to the north, to discover the South Sea passage, is very good, but the principal thing you ought to apply yourself in discoveries of this nature, is to look for the copper mine.

"Were this mine discovered, and its utility evident, it would be an assured means to attract several Frenchmen from old, to New France."

On the 14th of June, 1671, Saint Lusson at Sault St. Marie, planted the arms of France, in the presence of Nicholas Perrot, who acted as interpreter on the occasion; the Sieur Jolliet; Pierre Moreau or Sieur de la Taupine; a soldier of the garrison of Quebec, and several other Frenchmen.

Talon, in announcing Saint Lusson's explorations to Colbert, on the 2d of November, 1671, wrote from Quebec: "The copper which I send from Lake Superior and the river Nantaouagan [Ontonagon] proves that there is a mine on the border of some stream, which produces this material as pure as one could wish. More than twenty Frenchmen have seen one lump at the lake, which they estimate weighs more than eight hundred pounds. The Jesuit Fathers among the Outaouas [Ou-taw-waws] use an anvil of this material, which weighs about one hundred pounds. There will be no rest until the source from whence these detached lumps come is discovered.

"The river Nantaouagan [Ontonagon] appears between two high hills, the plain above which feeds the lakes, and receives a great deal of snow, which, in melting, forms torrents which wash the borders of this river, composed of solid gravel, which is rolled down by it.

"The gravel at the bottom of this, hardens itself, and assumes different shapes, such as those pebbles which I send to Mr. Bellinzany. My opinion is that these pebbles, rounded and carried off by the rapid waters, then have a tendency to become copper, by the influence of the sun's rays which they absorb, and to form other nuggets of metal similar to those which I send to Sieur de Bellinzany, found by the Sieur de Saint Lusson, about four hundred leagues, at some distance from the mouth of the river.

"He hoped by the frequent journeys of the savages, and French who are beginning to travel by these routes, to discern the source of production."

Governor Denonville, of Canada, sixteen years after the above circumstances, wrote: "The copper, a sample of which I sent M. Arnou, is found at the head of Lake Superior. The body of the mine has not yet been discovered. I have seen one of our voyageurs who assures me that, some fifteen months ago he saw a lump of two hundred weight, as yellow as gold, in a river which falls into Lake Superior. When heated, it could be cut with an axe; but the superstitious Indians, regarding this boulder as a good spirit, would never permit him to take any of it away. His opinion is that the frost undermined this piece, and that the mine is in that river. He has promised to search for it on his way back."

In the year 1730, there was some correspondence with the authorities in France relative to the discovery of copper at La Pointe, but, practically, little was done by the French, in developing the mineral wealth of Lake Superior.

CHAPTER III.

DU LUTH PLANTS THE FRENCH ARMS IN MINNESOTA

Du Luth's Relatives.—Randin Visits Extremity of Lake Superior.—Du Luth Plants King's Arms.—Post at Kaministigoya.—Pierre Moreaf, alias La Taupine.—La Salle's Visit.—A Pilot Deserts to the Sioux Country.—uaffart, Du Luth's Interpreter.—Descent of the River St. Croix.—Meets Father Hennepin.—Criticised by La Salle.—Trades with New England.—Visits France.—In Command at Mackinaw.—Frenchmen Murdered at Keweenaw.—Du Luth Arrests and Shoots Murderers.—Builds Fort above Detroit.—With Indian Allies in the Seneca War.—Du Luth's Brother.—Cadillac Defends the Brandy Trade.—Du Luth Disapproves of Selling Brandy to the Indians.—In Command at Fort Frontenac.—Death.

In the year 1678, several prominent merchants of Quebec and Montreal, with the support of Governor Frontenac of Canada, formed a company to open trade with the Sioux of Minnesota, and a nephew of Patron, one of these merchants, a brother-in-law of Sieur de Lusigny, an officer of the Governor's Guards, named Daniel Greysolon Du Luth [Doo-loo], a native of St. Germain en Laye, a few miles from Paris, although Lahontan speaks of him as from Lyons, was made the leader of the expedition. At the battle of Seneffe against the Prince of Orange, he was a gendarme, and one of the King's guards.

Du Luth was also a cousin of Henry Tonty, who had been in the revolution at Naples, to throw off the Spanish dependence. Du Luth's name is variously spelled in the documents of his day. Hennepin writes, "Du Luth;" others, "Dulhut," "Du Lhu," "Du Lut," "De Luth," "Du Lud."

The temptation to procure valuable furs from the Lake Superior region, contrary to the letter of the Canadian law, was very great; and more than one Governor winked at the contraband trade. Randin, who visited the extremity of Lake Superior, distributed presents to the Sioux and Ottawas in the name of Governor Frontenac, to secure the trade, and after his death, Du Luth was sent to complete what he had begun. With a party of twenty, seventeen Frenchmen and three Indians, he left Quebec on the first of September, 1678, and on the fifth of April, 1679, Du Luth writes to Governor Frontenac, that he is in the woods, about nine miles from Sault St. Marie, at the entrance of Lake Superior, and adds that: he "will not stir from the Nadoussioux. until further orders, and, peace being concluded, he will set up the King's Arms; lest the English and other Europeans settled towards California, take possession of the country."

On the second of July, 1679, he caused his Majesty's Arms to be planted in the great village of the Nadoussioux, called Kathio, where no Frenchman had ever been, and at Songaskicons and Houetbatons. one hundred and twenty leagues distant from the former, where he also set up the King's Arms. In a letter to Seignalay, published for the first time by Harrisse, he writes that it was in the village of Izatys [Issati]. Upon Franquelin's map, the Mississippi branches into the Tintonha [Teeton Sioux] country, and not far from here, he alleges, was seen a tree upon which was this legend: "Arms of the King cut on this tree in the year 1679."

He established a post at Kamanistigoya, which was distant fifteen leagues from the Grand Portage at the western extremity of Lake Superior; and here, on the fifteenth of September, he held a council with the Assenipoulaks [Assineboines] and other tribes, and urged them to be at peace with the Sioux. During this summer, he dispatched Pierre Moreau, a celebrated voyageur, nicknamed La Taupine, with letters to Governor Frontenac, and valuable furs to the merchants. His arrival at Quebec, created some excitement. It was charged that the Governor corresponded with Du Luth, and that he passed the beaver, sent by him, in the name of merchants in his interest. The Intendant of Justice, Du Chesneau, wrote to the Minister of the Colonial Department of France, that "the man named La Taupine, a famous coureur des bois, who set out in the month of September of last year, 1678, to go to the Outawacs, with goods, and who has always been interested with the Governor, having returned this year, and I, being advised that he had traded in

two days, one hundred and fifty beaver robes in one village of this tribe, amounting to nearly nine hundred beavers, which is a matter of public notoriety; and that he left with Du Lut two men whom he had with him, considered myself bound to have him arrested, and to interrogate him; but having presented me with a license from the Governor, permitting him and his comrades, named Lamonde and Dupuy, to repair to the Outawac, to execute his secret orders, I had him set at liberty: and immediately on his going out, Sieur Prevost, Town Mayor of Quebec, came at the head of some soldiers to force the prison, in case he was still there, pursuant to his orders from the Governor, in these terms: "Sieur Prevost, Mayor of Quebec, is ordered, in case the Intendant arrest Pierre Moreau *alias* La Taupine, whom we have sent to Quebec as bearer of our dispatches, upon pretext of his having been in the bush, to set him forthwith at liberty, and to employ every means for this purpose, at his peril. Done at Montreal, the 5th September, 1679."

La Taupine, in due time returned to Lake Superior with another consignment of merchandise. The interpreter of Du Luth, and trader with the Sioux, was Faffart, who had been a soldier under La Salle at Fort Frontenac, and had deserted.

La Salle was commissioned in 1678, by the King of France, to explore the West, and trade in cibola, or buffalo skins, and on condition that he did not traffic with the Ottauwaws, who carried their beaver to Montreal.

On the 27th of August, 1679, he arrived at Mackinaw, in the "Griffin," the first sailing vessel on the great Lakes of the West, and from thence went to Green Bay, where, in the face of his commission, he traded for beaver. Loading his vessel with peltries, he sent it back to Niagara, while he, in canoes, proceeded with his expedition to the Illinois River. The ship was never heard of, and for a time supposed to be lost, but La Salle afterward learned from a Pawnee boy fourteen or fifteen years of age, who was brought prisoner to his fort on the Illinois by some Indians, that the pilot of the "Griffin" had been among the tribes of the Upper Missouri. He had ascended the Mississippi with four others in two birch canoes with goods and some hand grenades, taken from the ship, with the intention of joining Du Luth, who had for months been trading with the Sioux; and if their efforts were unsuccessful, they expected to push on to the English, at Hudson's Bay. While ascending the Mississippi they were attacked by Indians, and the pilot and one other only survived, and they were sold to the Indians on the Missouri.

In the month of June, 1680, Du Luth, accompanied by Faffart, an interpreter, with four Frenchmen, also a Chippeway and a Sioux, with two canoes, entered a river, the mouth of which is eight leagues from the head of Lake Superior on the South side, named Nemitsakouat. Reaching its head waters, by a short portage, of half a league, he reached a lake which was the source of the Saint Croix River, and by this, he and his companions were the first Europeans to journey in a canoe from Lake Superior to the Mississippi.

La Salle writes, that Du Luth, finding that the Sioux were on a hunt in the Mississippi valley, below the Saint Croix, and that Accault, Augelle and Hennepin, who had come up from the Illinois a few weeks before, were with them, descended until he found them. In the same letter he disregards the truth in order to disparage his rival, and writes:

"Thirty-eight or forty leagues above the Chippeway they found the river by which the Sieur Du Luth did descend to the Mississippi. He had been three years, contrary to orders, with a company of twenty "coureurs du bois" on Lake Superior; he had borne himself bravely, proclaiming everywhere that at the head of his brave fellows he did not fear the Grand Prevost, and that he would compel an amnesty.

"While he was at Lake Superior, the Nadouesioux, enticed by the presents that the late Sieur Randin had made on the part of Count Frontenac, and the Sauteurs [Ojibways], who are the savages who carry the peltries to Montreal, and who dwell on Lake Superior, wishing to obey the repeated orders of the Count, made a peace to unite the Sauteurs and French, and to trade with the Nadouesioux, situated about sixty leagues to the west of Lake Superior. Du Luth, to disguise his desertion, seized the opportunity to make some reputation for himself, sending two messengers to the Count to negotiate a truce, during which period their comrades negotiated still better for beaver.

Several conferences were held with the Na-

douessioux, and as he needed an interpreter, he led off one of mine, named Faffart, formerly a soldier at Fort Frontenac. During this period there were frequent visits between the Sauteurs [Ojibways] and Nadouesioux, and supposing that it might increase the number of beaver skins, he sent Faffart by land, with the Nadouesioux and Sauteurs [Ojibways]. The young man on his return, having given an account of the quantity of beaver in that region, he wished to proceed thither himself, and, guided by a Sauteur and a Nadouesioux, and four Frenchmen, he ascended the river Nemitsakouat, where, by a short portage, he descended that stream, whereon he passed through forty leagues of rapids [Upper St. Croix River], and finding that the Nadouesioux were below with my men and the Father, who had come down again from the village of the Nadouesioux, he discovered them. They went up again to the village, and from thence they all together came down. They returned by the river Ouisconsing, and came back to Montreal, where Du Luth insults the commissaries, and the deputy of the 'procureur general,' named d'Auteuil. Count Frontenac had him arrested and imprisoned in the castle of Quebec, with the intention of returning him to France for the amnesty accorded to the coureurs des bois, did not release him."

At this very period, another party charges Frontenac as being Du Luth's particular friend.

Du Luth, during the fall of 1681, was engaged in the beaver trade at Montreal and Quebec. Du Chesneau, the Intendant of Justice for Canada, on the 13th of November, 1681, wrote to the Marquis de Siegnelay, in Paris: "Not content with the profits to be derived from the countries under the King's dominion, the desire of making money everywhere, has led the Governor [Frontenac], Boisseau, Du Lut and Patron, his uncle, to send canoes loaded with peltries, to the English. It is said sixty thousand livres' worth has been sent thither:" and he further stated that there was a very general report that within five or six days, Frontenac and his associates had divided the money received from the beavers sent to New England.

At a conference in Quebec of some of the distinguished men in that city, relative to difficulties with the Iroquois, held on the 10th of October, 1682, Du Luth was present. From thence he went to France, and, early in 1683, consulted with the Minister of Marine at Versailles relative to the interests of trade in the Hudson's Bay and Lake Superior region. Upon his return to Canada, he departed for Mackinaw. Governor De la Barre, on the 9th of November, 1683, wrote to the French Government that the Indians west and north of Lake Superior, "when they heard by expresses sent them by Du Lhut, of his arrival at Missilimakinak, that he was coming, sent him word to come quickly and they would unite with him to prevent others going thither. If I stop that pass as I hope, and as it is necessary to do, as the English of the Bay [Hudson's] excite against us the savages, whom Sieur Du Lhut alone can quiet."

While stationed at Mackinaw he was a participant in a tragic occurrence. During the summer of 1683 Jacques le Maire and Colin Berthot, while on their way to trade at Keweenaw, on Lake Superior, were surprised by three Indians, robbed, and murdered. Du Luth was prompt to arrest and punish the assassins. In a letter from Mackinaw, dated April 12, 1684, to the Governor of Canada, he writes: "Be pleased to know, Sir, that on the 24th of October last, I was told that Folle Avoine, accomplice in the murder and robbery of the two Frenchmen, had arrived at Sault Ste. Marie with fifteen families of the Sauteurs [Ojibways] who had fled from Chagoamigon [La Pointe] on account of an attack which they, together with the people of the land, made last Spring upon the Nadouecioux [Dakotahs.]

"He believed himself safe at the Sault, on account of the number of allies and relatives he had there. Rev. Father Albanel informed me that the French at the Sant, being only twelve in number, had not arrested him, believing themselves too weak to contend with such numbers, especially as the Sauteurs had declared that they would not allow the French to redden the land of their fathers with the blood of their brothers.

"On receiving this information, I immediately resolved to take with me six Frenchmen, and embark at the dawn of the next day for Sault Ste. Marie, and if possible obtain possession of the murderer. I made known my design to the Rev. Father Engalran, and, at my request, as he had some business to arrange with Rev. Father Albanel, he placed himself in my canoe.

"Having arrived within a league of the village

of the Saut, the Rev. Father, the Chevalier de Fourcille, Cardonnierre, and I disembarked. I caused the canoe, in which were Baribaud, Le Mere, La Fortune, and Macons, to proceed, while we went across the wood to the house of the Rev. Father, fearing that the savages, seeing me, might suspect the object of my visit, and cause Folle Avoine to escape. Finally, to cut the matter short, I arrested him, and caused him to be guarded day and night by six Frenchmen.

"I then called a council, at which I requested all the savages of the place to be present, where I repeated what I had often said to the Hurons and Ottawas since the departure of M. Pere [Perrot], giving them the message you ordered me, Sir, that in case there should be among them any spirits so evil disposed as to follow the example of those who have murdered the French on Lake Superior and Lake Michigan, they must separate the guilty from the innocent, as I did not wish the whole nation to suffer, unless they protected the guilty. * * * The savages held several councils, to which I was invited, but their only object seemed to be to exculpate the prisoner, in order that I might release him.

"All united in accusing Achiganaga and his children, assuring themselves with the belief that M. Pere, [Perrot] with his detachment would not be able to arrest them, and wishing to persuade me that they apprehended that all the Frenchmen might be killed.

"I answered them, * * * 'As to the anticipated death of M. Pere [Perrot], as well as of the other Frenchmen, that would not embarrass me, since I believed neither the allies nor the nation of Achiganaga would wish to have a war with us to sustain an action so dark as that of which we were speaking. Having only to attack a few murderers, or, at most, those of their own family, I was certain that the French would have them dead or alive.'

"This was the answer they had from me during the three days that the councils lasted; after which I embarked, at ten o'clock in the morning, sustained by only twelve Frenchmen, to show a few unruly persons who boasted of taking the prisoner away from me, that the French did not fear them.

"Daily I received accounts of the number of savages that Achiganaga drew from his nation to Kiaonan [Keweenaw] under pretext of going to war in the spring against the Nadouecioux, to avenge the death of one of his relatives, son of Ouenaus, but really to protect himself against us, in case we should become convinced that his children had killed the Frenchmen. This precaution placed me between hope and fear respecting the expedition which M. Pere [Perrot] had undertaken.

"On the 24th of November, [1683], he came across the wood at ten o'clock at night, to tell me that he had arrested Achiganaga and four of his children. He said they were not all guilty of the murder, but had thought proper, in this affair, to follow the custom of the savages, which is to seize all the relatives. Folle Avoine, whom I had arrested, he considered the most guilty, being without doubt the originator of the mischief.

"I immediately gave orders that Folle Avoine should be more closely confined, and not allowed to speak to any one; for I had also learned that he had a brother, sister, and uncle in the village of the Kiskakons.

"M. Pere informed me that he had released the youngest son of Achiganaga, aged about thirteen or fourteen years, that he might make known to their nation and the Sauteurs [Ojibways], who are at Nocke and in the neighborhood, the reason why the French had arrested his father and brothers. M. Pere bade him assure the savages that if any one wished to complain of what he had done, he would wait for them with a firm step; for he considered himself in a condition to set them at defiance, having found at Kiaonau [Keweenaw] eighteen Frenchmen who had wintered there.

"On the 25th, at daybreak, M. Pere embarked at the Sault, with four good men whom I gave him, to go and meet the prisoners. He left them four leagues from there, under a guard of twelve Frenchmen; and at two o'clock in the afternoon, they arrived. I had prepared a room in my house for the prisoners, in which they were placed under a strong guard, and were not allowed to converse with any one.

"On the 26th, I commenced proceedings; and this, sir, is the course I pursued. I gave notice to all the chiefs and others, to appear at the council which I had appointed, and gave to Folle Avoine the privilege of selecting two of his rela-

tives to support his interests; and to the other prisoners I made the same offer.

"The council being assembled, I sent for Folle Avoine to be interrogated, and caused his answers to be written, and afterwards they were read to him, and inquiry made whether they were not, word for word, what he had said. He was then removed under a safe guard. I used the same form with the two eldest sons of Achiganaga, and, as Folle Avoine had indirectly charged the father with being accessory to the murder, I sent for him and also for Folle Avoine, and bringing them into the council, confronted the four.

"Folle Avoine and the two sons of Achiganaga accused each other of committing the murder, without denying that they were participators in the crime. Achiganaga alone strongly maintained that he knew nothing of the design of Folle Avoine, nor of his children, and called on them to say if he had advised them to kill the Frenchmen. They answered, 'No.'

"This confrontation, which the savages did not expect, surprised them; and, seeing the prisoners had convicted themselves of the murder, the Chiefs said: 'It is enough; you accuse yourselves; the French are masters of your bodies.'

"The next day I held another council, in which I said there could be no doubt that the Frenchmen had been murdered, that the murderers were known, and that they knew what was the practice among themselves upon such occasions. To all this they said nothing, which obliged us on the following day to hold another council in the cabin of Brochet, where, after having spoken, and seeing that they would make no decision, and that all my councils ended only in reducing tobacco to ashes, I told them that, since they did not wish to decide, I should take the responsibility, and that the next day I would let them know the determination of the French and myself.

"It is proper, Sir, you should know that I observed all these forms only to see if they would feel it their duty to render to us the same justice that they do to each other, having had divers examples in which when the tribes of those who had committed the murder did not wish to go to war with the tribe aggrieved, the nearest relations of the murderers killed them themselves; that is to say, man for man.

"On the 29th of November. I gathered together the French that were here, and, after the interrogations and answers of the accused had been read to them, the guilt of the three appeared so evident, from their own confessions, that the vote was unanimous that all should die. But as the French who remained at Kiaonan to pass the winter had written to Father Engalran and to myself, to beg us to treat the affair with all possible leniency, the savages declaring that if they made the prisoners die they would avenge themselves, I told the gentlemen who were with me in council that, this being a case without a precedent, I believed it was expedient for the safety of the French who would pass the winter in the Lake Superior country to put to death only two, as that of the third might bring about grievous consequences, while the putting to death, man for man, could give the savages no complaint, since this is their custom. M. de la Tour, chief of the Fathers, who had served much, sustained my opinions by strong reasoning, and all decided that two should be shot, namely, Folle Avoine and the older of the two brothers, while the younger should be released, and hold his life, Sir, as a gift from you.

"I then returned to the cabin of Brochet with Messrs. Boisguillot, Pere, De Repentigny, De Manthet. De la Ferte, and Macons, where were all the chiefs of the Outawas du Sable, Outawas Sinagos, Kiskakons, Sauteurs, D'Achiliny, a part of the Hurons, and Oumamens, the chief of the Amikoys. I informed them of our decision * * * that, the Frenchmen having been killed by the different nations, one of each must die, and that the same death they had caused the French to suffer they must also suffer. * * * This decision to put the murderers to death was a hard stroke to them all, for none had believed that I would dare to undertake it. * * * I then left the council and asked the Rev. Fathers if they wished to baptize the prisoners, which they did.

"An hour after, I put myself at the head of forty-two Frenchmen, and, in sight of more than four hundred savages, and within two hundred paces of their fort, I caused the two murderers to be shot. The impossibility of keeping them until spring made me hasten their death. * * * When M. Pere made the arrest, those who had committed the murder confessed it; and when he asked them what they had done with our goods,

they answered that they were almost all concealed. He proceeded to the place of concealment, and was very much surprised, as were also the French with him, to find them, in fifteen or twenty different places. By the carelessness of the savages, the tobacco and powder were entirely destroyed, having been placed in the pinery, under the roots of trees, and being soaked in the water caused by ten or twelve days' continuous rain, which inundated all the lower country. The season for snow and ice having come, they had all the trouble in the world to get out the bales of cloth.

"They then went to see the bodies, but could not remove them, these miserable wretches having thrown them into a marsh, and thrust them down into holes which they had made. Not satisfied with this, they had also piled branches of trees upon the bodies, to prevent them from floating when the water should rise in the spring, hoping by this precaution the French would find no trace of those who were killed, but would think them drowned; as they reported that they had found in the lake on the other side of the Portage, a boat with the sides all broken in, which they believed to be a French boat.

"Those goods which the French were able to secure, they took to Kiaonau [Keweenaw], where were a number of Frenchmen who had gone there to pass the winter, who knew nothing of the death of Colin Berthot and Jacques le Maire, until M. Pere arrived.

"The ten who formed M. Pere's detachment having conferred together concerning the means they should take to prevent a total loss, decided to sell the goods to the highest bidder. The sale was made for 1100 livres, which was to be paid in beavers, to M. de la Chesnaye, to whom I send the names of the purchsers.

"The savages who were present when Achiganaga and his children were arrested wished to pass the calumet to M. Pere, and give him captives to satisfy him for the murder committed on the two Frenchmen; but he knew their intention, and would not accept their offer. He told them neither a hundred captives nor a hundred packs of beaver would give back the blood of his brothers; that the murderers must be given up to me, and I would see what I would do.

"I caused M. Pere to repeat these things in the council, that in future the savages need not think by presents to save those who commit similar deeds. Besides, sir, M. Pere showed plainly by his conduct, that he is not strongly inclined to favor the savages, as was reported. Indeed, I do not know any one whom they fear more, yet who flatters them less or knows them better.

"The criminals being in two different places, M. Pere being obliged to keep four of them, sent Messrs. de Repentigny, Manthet, and six other Frenchmen, to arrest the two who were eight leagues in the woods. Among others, M. de Repentigny and M. de Manthet showed that they feared nothing when their honor called them.

"M. de la Chevrotiere has also served well in person, and by his advice, having pointed out where the prisoners were. Achiganaga, who had adopted him as a son, had told him where he should hunt during the winter. * * * * * It still remained for me to give to Achiganaga and his three children the means to return to his family. Their home from which they were taken was nearly twenty-six leagues from here. Knowing their necessity, I told them you would not be satisfied in giving them life; you wished to preserve it, by giving them all that was necessary to prevent them from dying with hunger and cold by the way, and that your gift was made by my hands. I gave them blankets, tobacco, meat, hatchets, knives, twine to make nets for beavers, and two bags of corn, to supply them till they could kill game.

"They departed two days after, the most contented creatures in the world, but God was not; for when only two days' journey from here, the old Achiganaga fell sick of the quinsy, and died, and his children returned. When the news of his death arrived, the greater part of the savages of this place [Mackinaw] attributed it to the French, saying we had caused him to die. I let them talk, and laughed at them. It is only about two months since the children of Achiganaga returned to Kiaonan."

Some of those opposed to Du Luth and Frontenac, prejudiced the King of France relative to the transaction we have described, and in a letter to the Governor of Canada, the King writes: "It appears to me that one of the principal causes of the war arises from one Du Luth having caused two to be killed who had assassinated two French-

men on Lake Superior; and you sufficiently see now much this man's voyage, which can not produce any advantage to the colony, and which was permitted only in the interest of some private persons, has contributed to distract the peace of the colony."

Du Luth and his young brother appear to have traded at the western extremity of Lake Superior, and on the north shore, to Lake Nipegon.

In June, 1684, Governor De la Barre sent Guillet and Hebert from Montreal to request Du Luth and Durantaye to bring down voyageurs and Indians to assist in an expedition against the Iroquois of New York. Early in September, they reported on the St. Lawrence, with one hundred and fifty coureurs des bois and three hundred and fifty Indians; but as a treaty had just been made with the Senecas, they returned.

De la Barre's successor, Governor Denonville, in a dispatch to the French Government, dated November 12th, 1685, alludes to Du Luth being in the far West, in these words: "I likewise sent to M. De la Durantaye, who is at Lake Superior under orders from M. De la Barre, and to Sieur Du Luth, who is also at a great distance in another direction, and all so far beyond reach that neither the one nor the other can hear news from me this year; so that, not being able to see them at soonest, before next July, I considered it best not to think of undertaking any thing during the whole of next year, especially as a great number of our best men are among the Outaouacs, and can not return before the ensuing summer. * * * In regard to Sieur Du Luth, I sent him orders to repair here, so that I may learn the number of savages on whom I may depend. He is accredited among them, and rendered great services to M. De la Barre by a large number of savages he brought to Niagara, who would have attacked the Senecas, was it not for an express order from M. De la Barre to the contrary."

In 1686, while at Mackinaw, he was ordered to establish a post on the Detroit, near Lake Erie. A portion of the order reads as follows: "After having given all the orders that you may judge necessary for the safety of this post, and having well secured the obedience of the Indians, you will return to Michilimackinac, there to await Rev. Father Engelran, by whom I will communicate what I wish of you, there."

The design of this post was to block the passage of the English to the upper lakes. Before it was established, in the fall of 1686, Thomas Roseboom, a daring trader from Albany, on the Hudson, had found his way to the vicinity of Mackinaw, and by the proffer of brandy, weakened the allegiance of the tribes to the French.

A canoe coming to Mackinaw with dispatches for the French and their allies, to march to the Seneca country, in New York, perceived this New York trader and associates, and, giving the alarm, they were met by three hundred coureurs du bois and captured.

In the spring of 1687 Du Luth, Durantaye, and Tonty all left the vicinity of Detroit for Niagara, and as they were coasting along Lake Erie they met another English trader, a Scotchman by birth, and by name Major Patrick McGregor, a person of some influence, going with a number of traders to Mackinaw. Having taken him prisoner, he was sent with Roseboom to Montreal.

Du Luth, Tonty, and Durantaye arrived at Niagara on the 27th of June, 1687, with one hundred and seventy French voyageurs, besides Indians, and on the 10th of July joined the army of Denonville at the mouth of the Genesee River, and on the 13th Du Luth and his associates had a skirmish near a Seneca village, now the site of the town of Victor, twenty miles southeast of the city of Rochester, New York. Governor Denonville, in a report, writes: "On the 13th, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, having passed through two dangerous defiles, we arrived at the third, where we were vigorously attacked by eight hundred Senecas, two hundred of whom fired, wishing to attack our rear, while the rest would attack our front, but the resistance, made produced such a great consternation that they soon resolved to fly. * * * We witnessed the painful sight of the usual cruelties of the savages, who cut the dead into quarters, as is done in slaughter houses, in order to put them into the kettle. The greater number were opened while still warm, that the blood might be drunk. Our rascally Otaoas distinguished themselves particularly by these barbarities. * * * We had five or six men killed on the spot, French and Indians, and about twenty wounded, among the first of whom was the Rev. Father Angelran, superior of all the Otaoan Missions, by a very severe gun-shot. It is a great

misfortune that this wound will prevent him going back again, for he is a man of capacity."

In the order to Du Luth assigning him to duty at the post on the site of the modern Fort Gratiot, above the city of Detroit, the Governor of Canada said: "If you can so arrange your affairs that your brother can be near you in the Spring, I shall be very glad. He is an intelligent lad, and might be a great assistance to you; he might also be very serviceable to us."

This lad, Greysolon de la Tourette, during the winter of 1686-7 was trading among the Assinaboines and other tribes at the west end of Lake Superior, but, upon receiving a dispatch, hastened to his brother, journeying in a canoe without any escort from Mackinaw. He did not arrive until after the battle with the Senecas. Governor Denonville, on the 25th of August, 1687, wrote:

"Du Luth's brother, who has recently arrived from the rivers above the Lake of the Allempigons [Nipegon], assures me that he saw more than fifteen hundred persons come to trade with him, and they were very sorry he had not goods sufficient to satisfy them. They are of the tribes accustomed to resort to the English at Port Nelson and River Bourbon, where, they say, they did not go this year, through Sieur Du Lhu's influence."

After the battle in the vicinity of Rochester, New York, Du Luth, with his celebrated cousin, Henry Tonty, returned together as far as the post above the present city of Detroit, Michigan, but this point, after 1688, was not again occupied.

From this period Du Luth becomes less prominent. At the time when the Jesuits attempted to exclude brandy from the Indian country a bitter controversy arose between them and the traders. Cadillac, a Gascon by birth, commanding Fort Buade, at Mackinaw, on August 3, 1695, wrote to Count Frontenac: "Now, what reason can we assign that the savages should not drink brandy bought with their own money as well as we? Is it prohibited to prevent them from becoming intoxicated? Or is it because the use of brandy reduces them to extreme misery, placing it out of their power to make war by depriving them of clothing and arms? If such representations in regard to the Indians have been made to the Count, they are very false, as every one knows who is acquainted with the ways of the savages. * * * It is bad faith to represent to the Count that the sale of brandy reduces the savage to a state of nudity, and by that means places it out of his power to make war, since he never goes to war in any other condition. * * * Perhaps it will be said that the sale of brandy makes the labors of the missionaries unfruitful. It is necessary to examine this proposition. If the missionaries care for only the extension of commerce, pursuing the course they have hitherto, I agree to it; but if it is the use of brandy that hinders the advancement of the cause of God, I deny it, for it is a fact which no one can deny that there are a great number of savages who never drink brandy, yet who are not, for that, better Christians.

"All the Sioux, the most numerous of all the tribes, who inhabit the region along the shore of Lake Superior, do not even like the smell of brandy. Are they more advanced in religion for that? They do not wish to have the subject mentioned, and when the missionaries address them they only laugh at the foolishness of preaching. Yet these priests boldly fling before the eyes of Europeans, whole volumes filled with glowing descriptions of the conversion of souls by thousands in this country, causing the poor missionaries from Europe, to run to martyrdom as flies to sugar and honey."

Du Luth, or Du Lhut, as he wrote his name, during this discussion, was found upon the side of order and good morals. His attestation is as follows: "I certify that at different periods I have lived about ten years among the Ottawa nation, from the time that I made an exploration to the Nadoüecioux people until Fort Saint Joseph was established by order of the Monsieur Marquis Denonville, Governor General, at the head of the Detroit of Lake Erie, which is in the Iroquois country, and which I had the honor to command. During this period, I have seen that the trade in eau-de-vie (brandy) produced great disorder, the father killing the son, and the son throwing his mother into the fire; and I maintain that, morally speaking, it is impossible to export brandy to the woods and distant missions, without danger of its leading to misery."

Governor Frontenac, in an expedition against the Oneidas of New York, arrived at Fort Frontenac, on the 19th of July, 1695, and Captain Du Luth was left in command with forty soldiers,

and masons and carpenters, with orders to erect new buildings. In about four weeks he erected a building one hundred and twenty feet in length, containing officers' quarters, store-rooms, a bakery and a chapel. Early in 1697 he was still in command of the post, and in a report it is mentioned that "everybody was then in good health, except Captain Dulhut the commander, who was unwell of the gout."

It was just before this period, that as a member of the Roman Catholic Church, he was firmly impressed that he had been helped by prayers which he addressed to a deceased Iroquois girl, who had died in the odor of sanctity, and, as a thank offering, signed the following certificate: "I, the subscriber, certify to all whom it may concern, that having been tormented by the gout, for the space of twenty-three years, and with such severe pains, that it gave me no rest for the space of three months at a time, I addressed myself to Catherine Tegahkouita, an Iroquois virgin deceased at the Sault Saint Louis, in the reputation of sanctity, and I promised her to visit her tomb, if God should give me health, through her intercession. I have been as perfectly cured at the end of one novena, which I made in her honor, that after five months, I have not perceived the slightest touch of my gout. Given at Fort Frontenac, this 18th day of August, 1696."

As soon as cold weather returned, his old malady again appeared. He died early in A. D. 1710. Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, under date of first of May of that year, wrote to Count Pontchartrain, Colonial Minister at Paris, "Captain Du Lud died this winter. He was a very honest man."

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST WHITE MEN AT FALLS OF SAINT ANTHONY OF PADUA.

Falls of St. Anthony Visited by White Men.—La Salle Gives the First Description of Upper Mississippi Valley.—Accault, the Leader, Accompanied by Augelle and Hennepin, at Falls of Saint Anthony.—Hennepin Declared Unreliable by La Salle.—His Early Life.—His First Book Criticised by Abbe Bernou and Tronson.—Deceptive Map.—First Meeting with Sioux.—Astonishment at Reading His Breviary.—Sioux Name for Guns.—Accault and Hennepin at Lake Pepin.—Leave the River Below Saint Paul.—At Mille Lacs.—A Sweating Cabin.—Sioux Wonder at Mariner's Compass.—Fears of an Iron Pot.—Making a Dictionary.—Infant Baptised.—Route to the Pacific.—Hennepin Descends Rum River.—First Visit to Falls of Saint Anthony.—On a Buffalo Hunt.—Meets Du Luth.—Returns to Mille Lacs.—With Du Luth at Falls of St. Anthony.—Returns to France.—Subsequent Life.—His Books Examined.—Denies in First Book His Descent to the Gulf of Mexico.—Dispute with Du Luth at Falls of St, Anthony.—Patronage of Du Luth.—Tribute to Du Luth.—Hennepin's Answer to Criticisms.—Denounced by D'Iberville and Father Gravier.—Residence in Rome.

In the summer of 1680, Michael Accault (Ako), Hennepin, the Franciscan missionary, Augelle, Du Luth, and Faffart all visited the Falls of Saint Anthony.

The first description of the valley of the upper Mississippi was written by La Salle, at Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario, on the 22d of August, 1682, a month before Hennepin, in Paris, obtained a license to print, and some time before the Franciscan's first work, was issued from the press.

La Salle's knowledge must have been received from Michael Accault, the leader of the expedition, Augelle, his comrade, or the clerical attache, the Franciscan, Hennepin.

It differs from Hennepin's narrative in its freedom from bombast, and if its statements are to be credited, the Franciscan must be looked on as one given to exaggeration. The careful student, however, soon learns to be cautious in receiving the statement of any of the early explorers and ecclesiastics of the Northwest. The Franciscan depreciated the Jesuit missionary, and La Salle did not hesitate to misrepresent Du Luth and others for his own exaltation. La Salle makes statements which we deem to be wide of the truth when his prejudices are aroused.

At the very time that the Intendant of Justice in Canada is complaining that Governor Frontenac is a friend and correspondent of Du Luth, La Salle writes to his friends in Paris, that Du Luth is looked upon as an outlaw by the governor.

While official documents prove that Du Luth was in Minnesota a year before Accault and associates, yet La Salle writes: "Moreover, the Nadonesioux is not a region which he has discovered. It is known that it was discovered a long time before, and that the Rev. Father Hennepin and Michael Accault were there before him."

La Salle in this communication describes Accault as one well acquainted with the language and names of the Indians of the Illinois region, and also "cool, brave, and prudent," and the head of the party of exploration.

We now proceed with the first description of the country above the Wisconsin, to which is given, for the first and only time, by any writer, the Sioux name, Meschetz Odeba, perhaps intended for Meshdeke Wakpa, River of the Foxes.

He describes the Upper Mississippi in these words: "Following the windings of the Mississippi, they found the river Ouisconsing, Wisconsing, or Meschetz Odeba, which flows between Bay of Puans and the Grand river. * * * About twenty-three or twenty-four leagues to the north or northwest of the mouth of the Ouisconsing, * * * they found the Black river, called by the Nadouesioux, Chabadeba [Chapa Wakpa, Beaver river] not very large, the mouth of which is bordered on the two shores by alders.

"Ascending about thirty leagues, almost at the same point of the compass, is the Buffalo river [Chippewa], as large at its mouth as that of the Illinois. They follow it ten or twelve leagues, where it is deep, small and without rapids, bordered by hills which widen out from time to time to form prairies."

About three o'clock in the afternoon of the 11th of April, 1680, the travelers were met by a war party of one hundred Sioux in thirty-three birch bark canoes. "Michael Accault, who was the

leader," says La Salle, "presented the Calumet." The Indians were presented by Accault with twenty knives and a fathom and a half of tobacco and some goods. Proceeding with the Indians ten days, on the 22d of April the isles in the Mississippi were reached, where the Sioux had killed some Maskoutens, and they halted to weep over the death of two of their own number; and to assuage their grief, Accault gave them in trade a box of goods and twenty-four hatchets.

When they were eight leagues below the Falls of Saint Anthony, they resolved to go by land to their village, sixty leagues distant. They were well received; the only strife among the villages was that which resulted from the desire to have a Frenchman in their midst. La Salle also states that it was not correct to give the impression that Du Luth had rescued his men from captivity, for they could not be properly called prisoners.

He continues: "In going up the Mississippi again, twenty leagues above that river [Saint Croix] is found the falls, which those I sent, and who passing there first, named Saint Anthony. It is thirty or forty feet high, and the river is narrower here than elsewhere. There is a small island in the midst of the chute, and the two banks of the river are not bordered by high hills, which gradually diminish at this point, but the country on each side is covered with thin woods, such as oaks and other hard woods, scattered wide apart.

"The canoes were carried three or four hundred steps, and eight leagues above was found the west [east?] bank of the river of the Nadouesioux, ending in a lake named Issati, which expands into a great marsh, where the wild rice grows toward the mouth."

In the latter part of his letter La Salle uses the following language relative to his old chaplain:

"I believed that it was appropriate to make for you the narrative of the adventures of this canoe, because I doubt not that they will speak of it, and if you wish to confer with the Father Louis Hennepin, Recollect, who has returned to France, you must know him a little, because he will not fail to exaggerate all things; it is his character, and to me he has written as if he were about to be burned when he was not even in danger, but he believes that it is honorable to act in this manner, and he speaks more conformably to that which he wishes than to that which he knows."

Hennepin was born in Ath, an inland town of the Netherlands. From boyhood he longed to visit foreign lands, and it is not to be wondered at that he assumed the priest's garb, for next to the soldier's life, it suited one of wandering propensities.

At one time he is on a begging expedition to some of the towns on the sea coast. In a few months he occupies the post of chaplain at an hospital, where he shrives the dying and administers extreme unction. From the quiet of the hospital he proceeds to the camp, and is present at the battle of Seneffe, which occurred in the year 1674.

His whole mind, from the time that he became a priest, appears to have been on "things seen and temporal," rather than on those that are "unseen and eternal." While on duty at some of the ports of the Straits of Dover, he exhibited the characteristic of an ancient Athenian more than that of a professed successor of the Apostles. He sought out the society of strangers "who spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing." With perfect nonchalance he confesses that notwithstanding the nauseating fumes of tobacco, he used to slip behind the doors of sailors' taverns, and spend days, without regard to the loss of his meals, listening to the adventures and hair-breadth escapes of the mariners in lands beyond the sea.

In the year 1676, he received a welcome order from his Superior, requiring him to embark for Canada. Unaccustomed to the world, and arbitrary in his disposition, he rendered the cabin of the ship in which he sailed any thing but heavenly. As in modern days, the passengers in a vessel to the new world were composed of heterogeneous materials. There were young women going out in search for brothers or husbands, ecclesiastics, and those engaged in the then new, but profitable, commerce in furs. One of his fellow passengers was the talented and enterprising, though unfortunate, La Salle, with whom he was afterwards associated. If he is to be credited, his intercourse with La Salle was not very pleasant on ship-board. The young women, tired of being cooped up in the narrow accommodations of the ship, when the evening was fair

sought the deck, and engaged in the rude dances of the French peasantry of that age. Hennepin, feeling that it was improper, began to assume the air of the priest, and forbade the sport. La Salle, feeling that his interference was uncalled for, called him a pedant, and took the side of the girls, and during the voyage there were stormy discussions.

Good humor appears to have been restored when they left the ship, for Hennepin would otherwise have not been the companion of La Salle in his great western journey.

Sojourning for a short period at Quebec, the adventure-loving Franciscan is permitted to go to a mission station on or near the site of the present town of Kingston, Canadà West.

Here there was much to gratify his love of novelty, and he passed considerable time in rambling among the Iroquois of New York. In 1678 he returned to Quebec, and was ordered to join the expedition of Robert La Salle.

On the 6th of December Father Hennepin and a portion of the exploring party had entered the Niagara river. In the vicinity of the Falls, the winter was passed, and while the artisans were preparing a ship above the Falls, to navigate the great lakes, the Recollect whiled away the hours, in studying the manners and customs of the Seneca Indians, and in admiring the sublimest handiwork of God on the globe.

On the 7th of August, 1679, the ship being completely rigged, unfurled its sails to the breezes of Lake Erie. The vessel was named the "Griffin," in honor of the arms of Frontenac, Governor of Canada, the first ship of European construction that had ever ploughed the waters of the great inland seas of North America.

After encountering a violent and dangerous storm on one of the lakes, during which they had given up all hope of escaping shipwreck, on the 27th of the month, they were safely moored in the harbor of "Missilimackinack." From thence the party proceeded to Green Bay, where they left the ship, procured canoes, and continued along the coast of Lake Michigan. By the middle of January, 1680, La Salle had conducted his expedition to the Illinois River, and, on an eminence near Lake Peoria, he commenced, with much heaviness of heart, the erection of a fort, which he called Crevecœur, on account of the many disappointments he had experienced.

On the last of February, Accault, Augelle, and Hennepin left to ascend the Mississippi.

The first work bearing the name of the Reverend Father Louis Hennepin, Franciscan Missionary of the Recollect order, was entitled, "Description de la Louisiane," and in 1683 published in Paris.

As soon as the book appeared it was criticised. Abbe Bernou, on the 29th of February, 1684, writes from Rome about the "paltry book" (meschant livre) of Father Hennepin. About a year before the pious Tronson, under date of March 13, 1683, wrote to a friend: "I have interviewed the P. Recollect, who *pretends* to have descended the Mississippi river to the Gulf of Mexico. I do not know that one *will believe what he speaks* any more than that which is in the *printed relation* of P. Louis, which I send you that you may make your own reflections."

On the map accompanying his first book, he boldly marks a Recollect Mission many miles north of the point he had visited. In the Utrecht edition of 1697 this deliberate fraud is erased.

Throughout the work he assumes, that he was the leader of the expedition, and magnifies trifles into tragedies. For instance, Mr. La Salle writes that Michael Accault, also written Ako, who was the leader, presented the Sioux with the calumet;" but Hennepin makes the occurrence more formidable.

He writes: "Our prayers were heard, when on the 11th of April, 1680, about two o'clock in the afternoon, we suddenly perceived thirty-three bark canoes manned by a hundred and twenty Indians coming down with very great speed, on a war party, against the Miamis, Illinois and Maroas. These Indians surrounded us, and while at a distance, discharged some arrows at us, but as they approached our canoe, the old men seeing us with the calumet of peace in our hands, prevented the young men from killing us. These savages leaping from their canoes, some on land, others into the water, with frightful cries and yells approached us, and as we made no resistance, being only three against so great a number, one of them wrenched our calumet from our hands, while our canoe and theirs were tied to the shore. We first presented to them a piece of

French tobacco, better for smoking than theirs' and the eldest among them uttered the words' "Miamiha, Miamiha."

"As we did not understand their language, we took a little stick, and by signs which we made on the sand, showed them that their enemies, the Miamis, whom they sought, had fled across the river Colbert [Mississippi] to join the Islinois; when they saw themselves discovered and unable to surprise their enemies, three or four old men laying their hands on my head, wept in a mournful tone.

"With a spare handkerchief I had left I wiped away their tears, but they would not smoke our Calumet. They made us cross the river with great cries, while all shouted with tears in their eyes; they made us row before them, and we heard yells capable of striking the most resolute with terror. After landing our canoe and goods, part of which had already been taken, we made a fire to boil our kettle, and we gave them two large wild turkeys which we had killed. These Indians having called an assembly to deliberate what they were to do with us, the two head chiefs of the party approaching, showed us by signs that the warriors wished to tomahawk us. This compelled me to go to the war chiefs with one young man, leaving the other by our property, and throw into their midst six axes, fifteen knives and six fathom of our black tobacco; and then bringing down my head, I showed them with an axe that they might kill me, if they thought proper. This present appeased many individual members, who gave us some beaver to eat, putting the three first morsels into our mouths, according to the custom of the country, and blowing on the meat, which was too hot, before putting the bark dish before us to let us eat as we liked. We spent the night in anxiety, because, before retiring at night, they had returned us our peace calumet.

"Our two boatmen were resolved to sell their lives dearly, and to resist if attacked; their arms and swords were ready. As for my own part, I determined to allow myself to be killed without any resistance; as I was going to announce to them a God who had been foully accused, unjustly condemned, and cruelly crucified, without showing the least aversion to those who put him to death. We watched in turn, in our anxiety, so as not to be surprised asleep. The next morning, a chief named Narrhetoba asked for the peace calumet, filled it with willow bark, and all smoked. It was then signified that the white men were to return with them to their villages."

In his narrative the Franciscan remarks, "I found it difficult to say my office before these Indians. Many seeing me move my lips, said in a fierce tone, 'Ouakanche.' Michael, all out of countenance, told me, that if I continued to say my breviary, we should all three be killed, and the Picard begged me at least to pray apart, so as not to provoke them. I followed the latter's advice, but the more I concealed myself the more I had the Indians at my heels; for when I entered the wood, they thought I was going to hide some goods under ground, so that I knew not on what side to turn to pray, for they never let me out of sight. This obliged me to beg pardon of my canoe-men, assuring them I could not dispense with saying my office. By the word, 'Ouakanche,' the Indians meant that the book I was reading was a spirit, but by their gesture they nevertheless showed a kind of aversion, so that to accustom them to it, I chanted the litany of the Blessed Virgin in the canoe, with my book opened. They thought that the breviary was a spirit which taught me to sing for their diversion; for these people are naturally fond of singing."

This is the first mention of a Dahkotah word in a European book. The savages were annoyed rather than enraged, at seeing the white man reading a book, and exclaimed, "Wakan-de!" this is wonderful or supernatural. The war party was composed of several bands of the M'dewahkantonwan Dahkotahs, and there was a diversity of opinion in relation to the disposition that should be made of the white men. The relatives of those who had been killed by the Miamis, were in favor of taking their scalps, but others were anxious to retain the favor of the French, and open a trading intercourse.

Perceiving one of the canoe-men shoot a wild turkey, they called the gun, "Manza Ouackange," iron that has understanding; more correctly, "Maza Wakande," this is the supernatural metal.

Aquipaguetin, one of the head men, resorted to the following device to obtain merchandise. Says the Father, "This wily savage had the bones of some distinguished relative, which he

preserved with great care in some skins dressed and adorned with several rows of black and red porcupine quills. From time to time he assembled his men to give it a smoke, and made us come several days to cover the bones with goods, and by a present wipe away the tears he had shed for him, and for his own son killed by the Miamis. To appease this captious man, we threw on the bones several fathoms of tobacco, axes, knives, beads, and some black and white wampum bracelets. * * * We slept at the point of the Lake of Tears [Lake Pepin], which we so called from the tears which this chief shed all night long, or by one of his sons whom he caused to weep when he grew tired."

The next day, after four or five leagues' sail, a chief came, and telling them to leave their canoes, he pulled up three piles of grass for seats. Then taking a piece of cedar full of little holes, he placed a stick into one, which he revolved between the palms of his hands, until he kindled a fire, and informed the Frenchmen that they would be at Mille Lac in six days. On the nineteenth day after their captivity, they arrived in the vicinity of Saint Paul, not far, it is probable, from the marshy ground on which the Kaposia band once lived, and now called Pig's Eye.

The journal remarks, "Having arrived on the nineteenth day of our navigation, five leagues below St. Anthony's Falls, these Indians landed us in a bay, broke our canoe to pieces, and secreted their own in the reeds."

They then followed the trail to Mille Lac, sixty leagues distant. As they approached their villages, the various bands began to show their spoils. The tobacco was highly prized, and led to some contention. The chalice of the Father, which glistened in the sun, they were afraid to touch, supposing it was "wakan." After five days' walk they reached the Issati [Dahkotah] settlements in the valley of the Rum or Knife river. The different bands each conducted a Frenchman to their village, the chief Aquipaguetin taking charge of Hennepin. After marching through the marshes towards the sources of Rum river, five wives of the chief, in three bark canoes, met them and took them a short league to an island where their cabins were.

An aged Indian kindly rubbed down the way-worn Franciscan; placing him on a bear-skin near the fire, he anointed his legs and the soles of his feet with wildcat oil.

The son of the chief took great pleasure in carrying upon his bare back the priest's robe with dead men's bones enveloped. It was called Pere Louis Chinnen. In the Dahkotah language Shinna or Shinnan signifies a buffalo robe.

Hennepin's description of his life on the island is in these words:

"The day after our arrival, Aquipaguetin, who was the head of a large family, covered me with a robe made of ten large dressed beaver skins, trimmed with porcupine quills. This Indian showed me five or six of his wives, telling them, as I afterwards learned, that they should in future regard me as one of their children.

"He set before me a bark dish full of fish, and seeing that I could not rise from the ground, he had a small sweating-cabin made, in which he made me enter with four Indians. This cabin he covered with buffalo skins, and inside he put stones red-hot. He made me a sign to do as the others before beginning to sweat, but I merely concealed my nakedness with a handkerchief. As soon as these Indians had several times breathed out quite violently, he began to sing vociferously, the others putting their hands on me and rubbing me while they wept bitterly. I began to faint, but I came out and could scarcely take my habit to put on. When he made me sweat thus three times a week, I felt as strong as ever."

The mariner's compass was a constant source of wonder and amazement. Aquipaguetin having assembled the braves, would ask Hennepin to show his compass. Perceiving that the needle turned, the chief harangued his men, and told them that the Europeans were spirits, capable of doing any thing.

In the Franciscan's possession was an iron pot with feet like lions', which the Indians would not touch unless their hands were wrapped in buffalo skins. The women looked upon it as "wakan," and would not enter the cabin where it was.

"The chiefs of these savages, seeing that I was desirous to learn, frequently made me write, naming all the parts of the human body; and as I would not put on paper certain indelicate words, at which they do not blush, they were heartily amused."

They often asked the Franciscan questions, to answer which it was necessary to refer to his lexicon. This appeared very strange, and, as they had no word for paper, they said, "That white thing must be a spirit which tells Pere Louis all we say."

Hennepin remarks: "These Indians often asked me how many wives and children I had, and how old I was, that is, how many winters; for so these natives always count. Never illumined by the light of faith, they were surprised at my answer. Pointing to our two Frenchmen, whom I was then visiting, at a point three leagues from our village, I told them that a man among us could only have one wife; that as for me, I had promised the Master of life to live as they saw me, and to come and live with them to teach them to be like the French.

"But that gross people, till then lawless and faithless, turned all I said into ridicule. 'How,' said they, 'would you have these two men with thee have wives? Ours would not live with them, for they have hair all over their face, and we have none there or elsewhere.' In fact, they were never better pleased with me than when I was shaved, and from a complaisance, certainly not criminal, I shaved every week.

"As often as I went to visit the cabins, I found a sick child, whose father's name was Mamenisi. Michael Ako would not accompany me; the Picard du Gay alone followed me to act as sponsor, or, rather, to witness the baptism.

"I christened the child Antoinette, in honor of St. Anthony of Padua, as well as for the Picard's name, which was Anthony Auguelle. He was a native of Amiens, and nephew of the Procurator-General of the Premonstratensians both now at Paris. Having poured natural water on the head and uttered these words: 'Creature of God, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' I took half an altar cloth which I had wrested from the hands of an Indian who had stolen it from me, and put it on the body of the baptized child; for as I could not say mass for want of wine and vestments, this piece of linen could not be put to better use than to enshroud the first Christian child among these tribes. I do not know whether the softness of the linen had refreshed her, but she was the next day smiling in her mother's arms, who believed that I had cured the child; but she died soon after, to my great consolation.

"During my stay among them, there arrived four savages, who said they were come alone five hundred leagues from the west, and had been four months upon the way. They assured us there was no such place as the Straits of Anian, and that they had traveled without resting, except to sleep, and had not seen or passed over any great lake, by which phrase they always mean the sea.

"They further informed us that the nation of the Assenipoulacs [Assiniboines] who lie northeast of Issati, was not above six or seven days' journey; that none of the nations, within their knowledge, who lie to the east or northwest, had any great lake about their countries, which were very large, but only rivers, which came from the north. They further assured us that there were very few forests in the countries through which they passed, insomuch that now and then they were forced to make fires of buffaloes' dung to boil their food. All these circumstances make it appear that there is no such place as the Straits of Anian, as we usually see them set down on the maps. And whatever efforts have been made for many years past by the English and Dutch, to find out a passage to the Frozen Sea, they have not yet been able to effect it. But by the help of my discovery and the assistance of God, I doubt not but a passage may still be found, and that an easy one too.

"For example, we may be transported into the Pacific Sea by rivers which are large and capable of carrying great vessels, *and from thence it is very easy to go to China and Japan, without crossing the equinoctial line; and, in all probability, Japan is on the same continent as America.*"

Hennepin in his first book, thus describes his first visit to the Falls of St. Anthony: "In the beginning of July, 1680, we descended the [Rum] River in a canoe southward, with the great chief Ouasicoude [Wauzeekootay] that is to say Pierced Pine, with about eighty cabins composed of more than a hundred and thirty families and about two hundred and fifty warriors. Scarcely would the Indians give me a place in their little flotilla, for they had only old canoes. They went four leagues lower down, to get birch bark to make some more. Having made a hole in the ground, to hide our silver chalice and our papers, till our

return from the hunt, and keeping only our breviary, so as not to be loaded, I stood on the bank of the lake formed by the river we had called St. Francis [now Rum] and stretched out my hand to the canoes as they rapidly passed in succession.

"Our Frenchmen also had one for themselves, which the Indians had given them. They would not take me in, Michael Ako saying that he had taken me long enough to satisfy him. I was hurt at this answer, seeing myself thus abandoned by Christians, to whom I had always done good, as they both often acknowledged; but God never having abandoned me on that painful voyage, inspired two Indians to take me in their little canoe, where I had no other employment than to bale out with a little bark tray, the water which entered by little holes. This I did not do without getting all wet. This boat might, indeed, be called a death box, for its lightness and fragility. These canoes do not generally weigh over fifty pounds, the least motion of the body upsets them, unless you are long accustomed to that kind of navigation.

"On disembarking in the evening, the Picard, as an excuse, told me that their canoe was half-rotten, and that had we been three in it, we should have run a great risk of remaining on the way. * * * Four days after our departure for the buffalo hunt, we halted eight leagues above St. Anthony of Padua's Falls, on an eminence opposite the mouth of the River St. Francis [Rum] * * * The Picard and myself went to look for haws, gooseberries, and little wild fruit, which often did us more harm than good. This obliged us to go alone, as Michael Ako refused, in a wretched canoe, to Ouisconsin river, which was more than a hundred leagues off, to see whether the Sieur de la Salle had sent to that place a reinforcement of men, with powder, lead, and other munitions, as he had promised us.

"The Indians would not have suffered this voyage had not one of the three remained with them. They wished me to stay, but Michael Ako absolutely refused. As we were making the portage of our canoe at St. Anthony of Padua's Falls, we perceived five or six of our Indians who had taken the start; one of them was up in an oak opposite the great fall, weeping bitterly, with a rich dressed beaver robe, whitened inside, and trimmed with porcupine quills, which he was offering as a sacrifice to the falls; which is, in itself, admirable and frightful. I heard him while shedding copious tears, say as he spoke to the great cataract, 'Thou who art a spirit, grant that our nation may pass here quietly, without accident; may kill buffalo in abundance; conquer our enemies, and bring in slaves, some of whom we will put to death before thee. The Messenecqz (so they call the tribe named by the French Outagamis) have killed our kindred; grant that we may avenge them.' This robe offered in sacrifice, served one of our Frenchmen, who took it as we returned."

It is certainly wonderful, that Hennepin, who knew nothing of the Sioux language a few weeks before, should understand the prayer offered at the Falls without the aid of an interpreter.

The narrator continues: "A league beyond St. Anthony of Padua's Falls, the Picard was obliged to land and get his powder horn, which he had left at the Falls. * * * As we descended the river Colbert [Mississippi] we found some of our Indians on the islands loaded with buffalo meat, some of which they gave us. Two hours after landing, fifteen or sixteen warriors whom we had left above St. Anthony of Padua's Falls, entered, tomakawk in hand, upset the cabin of those who had invited us, took all the meat and bear oil they found, and greased themselves from head to foot,"

This was done because the others had violated the rules for the buffalo hunt. With the Indians Hennepin went down the river sixty leagues, and then went up the river again, and met buffalo. He continues:

"While seeking the Ouisconsin River, that savage father, Aquipaguetin, whom I had left, and who I believed more than two hundred leagues off, on the 11th of July, 1680, appeared with the warriors." After this, Hennepin and Picard continued to go up the river almost eighty leagues.

There is great confusion here, as the reader will see. When at the mouth of the Rum River, he speaks of the Wisconsin as more than a hundred leagues off. He floats down the river sixty leagues; then he ascended, but does not state the distance; then he ascends eighty leagues.

He continues: "The Indians whom he had left with Michael Ako at Buffalo [Chippeway] River,

with the flotilla of canoes loaded with meat, came down. * * * All the Indian women had their stock of meat at the mouth of Buffalo River and on the islands, and again we went down the Colbert [Mississippi] about eighty leagues. * * * We had another alarm in our camp: the old men on duty on the top of the mountains announced that they saw two warriors in the distance; all the bowmen hastened there with speed, each trying to outstrip the others; but they brought back only two of their enemies, who came to tell them that a party of their people were hunting at the extremity of Lake Conde [Superior] and had found four Spirits (so they call the French) who, by means of a slave, had expressed a wish to come on, knowing us to be among them. * * * On the 25th of July, 1680, as we were ascending the river Colbert, after the buffalo hunt, to the Indian villages, we met Sieur du Luth, who came to the Nadouessious with five French soldiers. They joined us about two hundred and twenty leagues distant from the country of the Indians who had taken us. As we had some knowledge of the language, they begged us to accompany them to the villages of these tribes, to which I readily agreed, knowing that these two Frenchmen had not approached the sacrament for two years."

Here again the number of leagues is confusing, and it is impossible to believe that Du Luth and his interpreter Faffart, who had been trading with the Sioux for more than a year, needed the help of Hennepin, who had been about three months with these people.

We are not told by what route Hennepin and Du Luth reached Lake Issati or Mille Lacs, but Hennepin says they arrived there on the 11th of August, 1680, and he adds, "Toward the end of September, having no implements to begin an establishment, we resolved to tell these people, that for their benefit, we would have to return to the French settlements. The grand Chief of the Issati or Nadouessiouz consented, and traced in pencil on paper I gave him, the route I should take for four hundred leagues. With this chart, we set out, eight Frenchmen, in two canoes, and descended the river St. Francis and Colbert [Rum and Mississippi]. Two of our men took two beaver robes at St. Anthony of Padua's Falls, which the Indians had hung in sacrifice on the trees."

The second work of Hennepin, an enlargement of the first, appeared at Utrecht in the year 1697, ten years after La Salle's death. During the interval between the publication of the first and second book, he had passed three years as Superintendent of the Recollects at Reny in the province of Artois, when Father Hyacinth Lefevre, a friend of La Salle, and Commissary Provincial of Recollects at Paris, wished him to return to Canada. He refused, and was ordered to go to Rome, and upon his coming back was sent to a convent at St. Omer, and there received a dispatch from the Minister of State in France to return to the countries of the King of Spain, of which he was a subject. This order, he asserts, he afterwards learned was forged.

In the preface to the English edition of the New Discovery, published in 1698, in London, he writes:

"The pretended reason of that violent order was because I refused to return into America, where I had been already eleven years; though the particular laws of our Order oblige none of us to go beyond sea against his will. I would have, however, returned very willingly had I not known the malice of M. La Salle, who would have exposed me to perish, as he did one of the men who accompanied me in my discovery. God knows that I am sorry for his unfortunate death; but the judgments of the Almighty are always just, for the gentleman was killed by one of his own men, who were at last sensible that he exposed them to visible dangers without any necessity and for his private designs."

After this he was for about five years at Gosselies, in Brabant, as Confessor in a convent, and from thence removed to his native place, Ath, in Belgium, where, according to his narrative in the preface to the "Nouveau Decouverte," he was again persecuted. Then Father Payez, Grand Commissary of Recollects at Louvain, being informed that the King of Spain and the Elector of Bavaria recommended the step, consented that he should enter the service of William the Third of Great Britain, who had been very kind to the Roman Catholics of Netherlands. By order of Payez he was sent to Antwerp to take the lay habit in the convent there, and subsequently went to Utrecht, where he finished his second book known as the New Discovery.

His first volume, printed in 1683, contains 312 pages, with an appendix of 107 pages, on the Customs of the Savages, while the Utrecht book of 1697 contains 509 pages without an appendix.

On page 249 of the New Discovery, he begins an account of a voyage alleged to have been made to the mouth of the Mississippi, and occupies over sixty pages in the narrative. The opening sentences give as a reason for concealing to this time his discovery, that La Salle would have reported him to his Superiors for presuming to go down instead of ascending the stream toward the north, as had been agreed; and that the two with him threatened that if he did not consent to descend the river, they would leave him on shore during the night, and pursue their own course.

He asserts that he left the Gulf of Mexico, to return, on the 1st of April, and on the 24th left the Arkansas; but a week after this, he declares he landed with the Sioux at the marsh about two miles below the city of Saint Paul.

The account has been and is still a puzzle to the historical student. In our review of his first book we have noticed that as early as 1683, he claimed to have descended the Mississippi. In the Utrecht publication he declares that while at Quebec, upon his return to France, he gave to Father Valentine Roux, Commissary of Recollects, his journal, upon the promise that it would be kept secret, and that this Father made a copy of his whole voyage, including the visit to the Gulf of Mexico; but in his Description of Louisiana, Hennepin wrote, "We had some design of going to the mouth of the river Colbert, which more probably empties into the Gulf of Mexico than into the Red Sea, but the tribes that seized us gave us no time to sail up and down the river."

The additions in his Utrecht book to magnify his importance and detract from others, are many. As Sparks and Parkman have pointed out the plagiarisms of this edition, a reference here is unnecessary.

Du Luth, who left Quebec in 1678, and had been in northern Minnesota, with an interpreter, for a year, after he met Ako and Hennepin, becomes of secondary importance, in the eyes of the Franciscan.

In the Description of Louisiana, on page 289, Hennepin speaks of passing the Falls of Saint Anthony, upon his return to Canada, in these few words: "Two of our men seized two beaver robes at the Falls of St. Anthony of Padua, which the Indians had in sacrifice, fastened to trees." But in the Utrecht edition, commencing on page 416, there is much added concerning Du Luth. After using the language of the edition of 1683, already quoted it adds: "Hereupon there arose a dispute between Sieur du Luth and myself. I commended what they had done, saying, 'The savages might judge by it that they disliked the superstition of these people.' The Sieur du Luth, on the contrary, said that they ought to have left the robes where the savages placed them, for they would not fail to avenge the insult we had put upon them by this action, and that it was feared that they would attack us on this journey. I confessed he had some foundation for what he said, and that he spoke according to the rules of prudence. But one of the two men flatly replied, the two robes suited them, and they cared nothing for the savages and their superstitions. The Sieur du Luth at these words was so greatly enraged that he nearly struck the one who uttered them, but I intervened and settled the dispute. The Picard and Michael Ako ranged themselves on the side of those who had taken the robes in question, which might have resulted badly.

"I argued with Sieur du Luth that the savages would not attack us, because I was persuaded that their great chief Ouasicoude would have our interests at heart, and he had great credit with his nation. The matter terminated pleasantly.

"When we arrived near the river Ouisconsin, we halted to smoke the meat of the buffalo we had killed on the journey. During our stay, three savages of the nation we had left, came by the side of our canoe to tell us that their great chief Ouasicoude, having learned that another chief of these people wished to pursue and kill us, and that he entered the cabin where he was consulting, and had struck him on the head with such violence as to scatter his brains upon his associates; thus preventing the executing of this injurious project.

"We regaled the three savages, having a great abundance of food at that time. The Sieur du Luth, after the savages had left, was as enraged as before, and feared that they would pursue and attack us on our voyage. He would have pushed

the matter further, but seeing that one man would resist, and was not in the humor to be imposed upon, he moderated, and I appeased them in the end with the assurance that God would not abandon us in distress, and, provided we confided in Him, he would deliver us from our foes, because He is the protector of men and angels."

After describing a conference with the Sioux, he adds, "Thus the savages were very kind, without mentioning the beaver robes. The chief Ouasicoude told me to offer a fathom of Martinico tobacco to the chief Aquipaguetin, who had adopted me as a son. This had an admirable effect upon the barbarians, who went off shouting several times the word 'Louis,' [Ouis or We] which, as he said, means the sun. Without vanity, I must say that my name will be for a long time among these people.

"The savages having left us, to go to war against the Messorites, the Maroha, the Illinois, and other nations which live toward the lower part of the Mississippi, and are irreconcilable foes of the people of the North, the Sieur du Luth, who upon many occasions gave me marks of his friendship, could not forbear to tell our men that I had all the reason in the world to believe that the Viceroy of Canada would give me a favorable reception, should we arrive before winter, and that he wished with all his heart that he had been among as many natives as myself."

The style of Louis Hennepin is unmistakable in this extract, and it is amusing to read his patronage of one of the fearless explorers of the Northwest, a cousin of Tonty, favored by Frontenac, and who was in Minnesota a year before his arrival.

In 1691, six years before the Utrecht edition of Hennepin, another Recollect Franciscan had published a book at Paris, called "The First Establishment of the Faith in New France," in which is the following tribute to Du Luth, whom Hennepin strives to make a subordinate: "In the last years of M. de Frontenac's administration, Sieur Du Luth, a man of talent and experience, opened a way to the missionary and the Gospel in many different nations, turning toward the north of that lake [Superior] where he even built a fort, he advanced as far as the Lake of the Issati, called Lake Buade, from the family name of M. de Frontenac, planting the arms of his Majesty in several nations on the right and left."

In the second volume of his last book, which is called "A Continuance of the New Discovery of a vast Country in America," etc., Hennepin noticed some criticisms.

To the objection that his work was dedicated to William the Third of Great Britain, he replies: "My King, his most Catholic Majesty, his Electoral Highness of Bavaria, the consent in writing of the Superior of my order, the integrity of my faith, and the regular observance of my vows, which his Britannic Majesty allows me, are the best warrants of the uprightness of my intentions."

To the query, how he could travel so far upon the Mississippi in so little time, he answers with a bold face, "That we may, with a canoe and a pair of oars, go twenty, twenty-five, or thirty leagues every day, and more too, if there be occasion. And though we had gone but ten leagues a day, yet in thirty days we might easily have gone three hundred leagues. If during the time we spent from the river of the Illinois to the mouth of the Meschasipi, in the Gulf of Mexico, we had used a little more haste, we might have gone the same twice over."

To the objection, that he said, he had passed eleven years in America, when he had been there but about four, he evasively replies, that "reckoning from the year 1674, when I first set out, to the year 1688, when I printed the second edition of my 'Louisiana,' it appears that I have spent fifteen years either in travels or printing my Discoveries."

To those who objected to the statement in his first book, in the dedication to Louis the Fourteenth, that the Sioux always call the sun Louis, he writes: "I repeat what I have said before, that being among the Issati and Nadouessans, by whom I was made a slave in America, I never heard them call the sun any other than Louis. It is true these savages call also the moon Louis, but with this distinction, that they give the moon the name of Louis Bastache, which in their language signifies, the sun that shines in the night."

The Utrecht edition called forth much censure, and no one in France doubted that Hennepin was the author. D'Iberville, Governor of Louisiana, while in Paris, wrote on July 3d 1699, to

the Minister of Marine and Colonies of France, in these words: "Very much vexed at the Recollect, whose false narratives had deceived every one, and caused our suffering and total failure of our enterprise, by the time consumed in the search of things which alone existed in his imagination."

The Rev. Father James Gravier, in a letter from a fort on the Gulf of Mexico, near the Mississippi, dated February 16th, 1701, expressed the sentiment of his times when he speaks of Hennepin "who presented to King William, the Relation of the Mississippi, where he never was, and after a thousand falsehoods and ridiculous boasts, * * * he makes Mr. de la Salle appear in his Relation, wounded with two balls in the head, turn toward the Recollect Father Anastase, to ask him for absolution, having been killed instantly, without uttering a word · and other like false stories."

Hennepin gradually faded out of sight. Brunet mentions a letter written by J. B. Dubos, from Rome, dated March 1st, 1701, which mentions that Hennepin was living on the Capitoline Hill, in the celebrated convent of Ara Cœli, and was a favorite of Cardinal Spada. The time and place of his death has not been ascertained.

CHAPTER V.

NICHOLAS PERROT, FOUNDER OF FIRST POST ON LAKE PEPIN.

Early Life.—Searches for Copper.—Interpreter at Sault St. Marie, Employed by La Salle.—Builds Stockade at Lake Pepin.—Hostile Indians Rebuked.—A Silver Ostensorium Given to a Jesuit Chapel.—Perrot in the Battle against Senecas, in New York.—Second Visit to Sioux Country.—Taking Possession by "Proces Verbal."—Discovery of Lead Mines.—Attends Council at Montreal.—Establishes a Post near Detroit, in Michigan.—Perrot's Death, and his Wife.

Nicholas Perrot, sometimes written Pere, was one of the most energetic of the class in Canada known as "coureurs des bois," or forest rangers. Born in 1644, at an early age he was identified with the fur trade of the great inland lakes. As early as 1665, he was among the Outagamies [Foxes], and in 1667 was at Green Bay. In 1669, he was appointed by Talon to go to the lake region in search of copper mines. At the formal taking possession of that country in the name of the King of France, at Sault St. Marie, on the 14th of May, 1671, he acted as interpreter. In 1677, he seems to have been employed at Fort Frontenac. La Salle was made very sick the next year, from eating a salad, and one Nicholas Perrot, called Joly Cœur (Jolly Soul) was suspected of having mingled poison with the food. After this he was associated with Du Luth in the execution of two Indians, as we have seen. In 1684, he was appointed by De la Barre, the Governor of Canada, as Commandant for the West, and left Montreal with twenty men. Arriving at Green Bay in Wisconsin, some Indians told him that they had visited countries toward the setting sun, where they obtained the blue and green stones suspended from their ears and noses, and that they saw horses and men like Frenchmen, probably the Spaniards of New Mexico; and others said that they had obtained hatchets from persons who lived in a house that walked on the water, near the mouth of the river of the Assiniboines, alluding to the English established at Hudson's Bay. Proceeding to the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin, thirteen Hurons were met, who were bitterly opposed to the establishment of a post near the Sioux. After the Mississippi was reached, a party of Winnebagoes was employed to notify the tribes of Northern Iowa that the French had ascended the river, and wished to meet them. It was further agreed that prairie fires would be kindled from time to time, so that the Indians could follow the French.

After entering Lake Pepin, near its mouth, on the east side, Perrot found a place suitable for a post, where there was wood. The stockade was built at the foot of a bluff beyond which was a large prairie. La Potherie makes this statement, which is repeated by Penicaut, who writes of Lake Pepin: "To the right and left of its shores there are also prairies. In that on the right on the bank of the lake, there is a fort, which was built by Nicholas Perrot, whose name it yet [1700] bears."

Soon after he was established, it was announced that a band of Aiouez [Ioways] was encamped above, and on the way to visit the post. The French ascended in canoes to meet them, but as they drew nigh, the Indian women ran up the bluffs, and hid in the woods; but twenty of the braves mustered courage to advance and greet Perrot, and bore him to the chief's lodge. The chief, bending over Perrot, began to weep, and allowed the moisture to fall upon his visitor. After he had exhausted himself, the principal men of the party repeated the slabbering process. Then buffalo tongues were boiled in an earthen pot, and after being cut into small pieces, the chief took a piece, and, as a mark of respect, placed it in Perrot's mouth.

During the winter of 1684–85, the French traded in Minnesota.

At the end of the beaver hunt, the Ayoes [Ioways] came to the post, but Perrot was absent visiting the Nadouaissioux, and they sent a chief to notify him of their arrival. Four Illinois met him on the way, and were anxious for the return of four children held by the French. When the

Sioux, who were at war with the Illinois, perceived them, they wished to seize their canoes, but the French voyageurs who were guarding them, pushed into the middle of the river, and the French at the post coming to their assistance, a reconciliation was effected, and four of the Sioux took the Illinois upon their shoulders, and bore them to the shore.

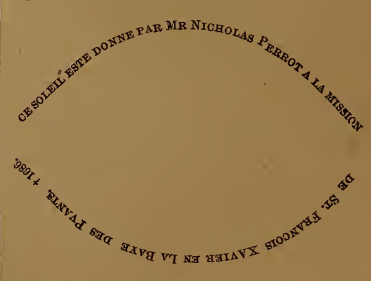
An order having been received from Denonville, Governor of Canada, to bring the Miamis, and other tribes, to the rendezvous at Niagara, to go on an expedition against the Senecas, Perrot entrusting the post at Lake Pepin to a few Frenchmen, visited the Miamis, who were dwelling below on the Mississippi, and with no guide but Indian camp fires, went sixty miles into the country beyond the river.

Upon his return, he perceived a great smoke, and at first thought that it was a war party proceeding to the Sioux country. Fortunately he met a Maskouten chief, who had been at the post to see him, and he gave the intelligence, that the Outagamies [Foxes], Kikapous [Kickapoos], and Mascoutechs [Maskoutens], and others, from the region of Green Bay, had determined to pillage the post, kill the French, and then go to war against the Sioux. Hurrying on, he reached the fort, and learned that on that very day three spies had been there and seen that there were only six Frenchmen in charge.

The next day two more spies appeared, but Perrot had taken the precaution to put loaded guns at the door of each hut, and caused his men frequently to change their clothes. To the query, "How many French were there?" the reply was given, "Forty, and that more were daily expected, who had been on a buffalo hunt, and that the guns were well loaded and knives well sharpened." They were then told to go back to their camp and bring a chief of each nation represented, and that if Indians, in large numbers, came near, they would be fired at. In accordance with this message six chiefs presented themselves, After their bows and arrows were taken away they were invited to Perrot's cabin, who gave something to eat and tobacco to smoke. Looking at Perrot's loaded guns they asked, "If he was afraid of his children?" He replied, he was not. They continued, "You are displeased." He answered, "I have good reason to be. The Spirit has warned me of your designs; you will take my things away and put me in the kettle, and proceed against the Nadouaissioux, The Spirit told me to be on my guard, and he would help me." At this they were astonished, and confessed that an attack was meditated. That night the chiefs slept in the stockade, and early the next morning a part of the hostile force was encamped in the vicinity, and wished to trade. Perrot had now only a force of fifteen men, and seizing the chiefs, he told them he would break their heads if they did not disperse the Indians. One of the chiefs then stood up on the gate of the fort and said to the warriors, "Do not advance, young men, or you are dead. The Spirit has warned Metaminens [Perrot] of your designs." They followed the advice, and afterwards Perrot presented them with two guns, two kettles, and some tobacco, to close the door of war against the Nadouaissioux, and the chiefs were all permitted to make a brief visit to the post.

Returning to Green Bay in 1686, he passed much time in collecting allies for the expedition against the Iroquois in New York. During this year he gave to the Jesuit chapel at Depere, five miles above Green Bay, a church utensil of silver, fifteen inches high, still in existence. The standard, nine inches in height, supports a radiated circlet closed with glass on both sides and surmounted with a cross. This vessel, weighing about twenty ounces, was intended to show the consecrated wafer of the mass, and is called a soleil, monstrance, or ostensorium.

Around the oval base of the rim is the following inscription:



In 1802 some workmen in digging at Green Bay, Wisconsin, on the old Langlade estate dis-

covered this relic, which is now kept in the vault of the Roman Catholic bishop of that diocese.

During the spring of 1687 Perrot, with De Luth and Tonty, was with the Indian allies and the French in the expedition against the Senecas of the Genessee Valley in New York.

The next year Denonville, Governor of Canada, again sent Perrot with forty Frenchmen to the Sioux who, says Potherie, "were very distant, and who would not trade with us as easily as the other tribes, the Outagamis [Foxes] having boasted of having cut off the passage thereto."

When Perrot arrived at Mackinaw, the tribes of that region were much excited at the hostility of the Outagamis [Foxes] toward the Sauteurs [Chippeways]. As soon as Perrot and his party reached Green Bay a deputation of the Foxes sought an interview. He told them that he had nothing to do with this quarrel with the Chippeways. In justification, they said that a party of their young men, in going to war against the Nadouaissioux, had found a young man and three Chippeway girls.

Perrot was silent, and continued his journey towards the Nadouaissioux. Soon he was met by five chiefs of the Foxes in a canoe, who begged him to go to their village. Perrot consented, and when he went into a chief's lodge they placed before him broiled venison, and raw meat for the rest of the French. He refused to eat because, said he, "that meat did not give him any spirit, but he would take some when the Outagamis [Foxes] were more reasonable." He then chided them for not having gone, as requested by the Governor of Canada, to the Detroit of Lake Erie, and during the absence of the French fighting with the Chippeways. Having ordered them to go on their beaver hunt and only fight against the Iroquois, he left a few Frenchmen to trade and proceeded on his journey to the Sioux country. Arriving at the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers they were impeded by ice, but with the aid of some Pottawattomies they transported their goods to the Wisconsin, which they found no longer frozen. The Chippeways were informed that their daughters had been taken from the Foxes, and a deputation came to take them back, but being attacked by the Foxes, who did not know their errand, they fled without securing the three girls. Perrot then ascended the Mississippi to the post which in 1684 he had erected, just above the mouth, and on the east side of Lake Pepin.

As soon as the rivers were navigable, the Nadouaissioux came down and escorted Perrot to one of their villages, where he was welcomed with much enthusiasm. He was carried upon a beaver robe, followed by a long line of warriors, each bearing a pipe, and singing. After taking him around the village, he was borne to the chief's lodge, when several came in to weep over his head, with the same tenderness that the Ayoes (Ioways) did, when Perrot several years before arrived at Lake Pepin. "These weepings," says an old chronicler "do not weaken their souls. They are very good warriors, and reported the bravest in that region. They are at war with all the tribes at present except the Saulteurs [Chippeways] and Ayoes [Ioways], and even with these they have quarrels. At the break of day the Nadouaissioux bathe, even to the youngest. They have very fine forms, but the women are not comely, and they look upon them as slaves. They are jealous and suspicious about them, and they are the cause of quarrels and blood-shedding.

"The Sioux are very dextrous with their canoes, and they fight unto death if surrounded, Their country is full of swamps, which shelter them in summer from being molested. One must be a Nadouaissioux, to find the way to their villages."

While Perrot was absent in New York, fighting the Senecas, a Sioux chief knowing that few Frenchmen were left at Lake Pepin, came with one hundred warriors, and endeavored to pillage it. Of this complaint was made, and the guilty leader was near being put to death by his associates. Amicable relations having been formed, preparations were made by Perrot to return to his post. As they were going away, one of the Frenchmen complained that a box of his goods had been stolen. Perrot ordered a voyageur to bring a cup of water, and into it he poured some brandy. He then addressed the Indians and told them he would dry up their marshes if the goods were not restored; and then he set on fire the brandy in the cup, The savages were astonished and terrified, and supposed that he possessed supernatural powers; and in a little while the goods

were found and restored to the owner, and the French descended to their stockade.

The Foxes, while Perrot was in the Sioux country, changed their village, and settled on the Mississippi. Coming up to visit Perrot, they asked him to establish friendly relations between them and the Sioux. At the time some Sioux were at the post trading furs, and at first they supposed the French were plotting with the Foxes. Perrot, however, eased them by presenting the calumet and saying that the French considered the Outagamis [Foxes] as brothers, and then adding: "Smoke in my pipe; this is the manner with which Onontio [Governor of Canada] feeds his children." The Sioux replied that they wished the Foxes to smoke first. This was reluctantly done, and the Sioux smoked, but would not conclude a definite peace until they consulted their chiefs. This was not concluded, because Perrot, before the chiefs came down, received orders to return to Canada.

About this time, in the presence of Father Joseph James Marest, a Jesuit missionary, Boisguillot, a trader on the Wisconsin and Mississippi, Le Sueur, who afterward built a post below the Saint Croix River, about nine miles from Hastings, the following document was prepared:

"Nicholas Perrot, commanding for the King at the post of the Nadouessioux, commissioned by the Marquis Denonville, Governor and Lieutenant Governor of all New France, to manage the interests of commerce among all the Indian tribes and people of the Bay des Puants [Green Bay], Nadouessioux, Mascoutens, and other western nations of the Upper Mississippi, and to take possession in the King's name of all the places where he has heretofore been and whither he will go:

"We this day, the eighth of May, one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine, do, in the presence of the Reverend Father Marest, of the Society of Jesus, Missionary among the Nadouessioux, of Monsieur de Boisguillot, commanding the French in the neighborhood of the Ouiskouche, on the Mississippi, Augustin Legardeur, Esquire, Sieur de Caumont, and of Messieurs Le Sueur, Hebert, Lemire and Blein.

"Declare to all whom it may concern, that, being come from the Bay des Puants, and to the Lake of the Ouiskonches, we did transport ourselves to the country of the Nadouessioux, on the border of the river St. Croix, and at the mouth of the river St. Pierre, on the bank of which were the Mantantans, and further up to the interior, as far as the Menchokatonx [Med-ay-wah-kawntwawn], with whom dwell the majority of the Songeskitons [Se-see-twawns] and other Nadouessioux who are to the northwest of the Mississippi, to take possession, for and in the name of the King, of the countries and rivers inhabited by the said tribes, and of which they are proprietors. The present act done in our presence, signed with our hand, and subscribed."

The three Chippeway girls of whom mention has been made were still with the Foxes, and Perrot took them with him to Mackinaw, upon his return to Canada.

While there, the Ottawas held some prisoners upon an island not far from the mainland. The Jesuit Fathers went over and tried to save the captives from harsh treatment, but were unsuccessful. The canoes appeared at length near each other, one man paddling in each, while the warriors were answering the shouts of the prisoners, who each held a white stick in his hand. As they neared the shore the chief of the party made a speech to the Indians who lived on the shore, and giving a history of the campaign, told them that they were masters of the prisoners. The warriors then came on land, and, according to custom, abandoned the spoils. An old man then ordered nine men to conduct the prisoners to a separate place. The women and the young men formed a line with big sticks. The young prisoners soon found their feet, but the old men were so badly used they spat blood, and they were condemned to be burned at the Mamilion.

The Jesuit Fathers and the French officers were much embarrassed, and feared that the Iroquois would complain of the little care which had been used to prevent cruelty.

Perrot, in this emergency, walked to the place where the prisoners were singing the death dirge, in expectation of being burned, and told them to sit down and be silent. A few Ottauwaws rudely told them to sing on, but Perrot forbade. He then went back to the Council, where the old men had rendered judgment, and ordered one prisoner to be burned at Mackinaw, one at Sault St. Marie and another at Green Bay. Undaunted he spoke as follows: "I come to cut the strings of the

dogs. I will not suffer them to be eaten. I have pity on them, since my Father, Onontio, has commanded me. You Outaouaks [Ottawaws] are like tame bears, who will not recognize them who has brought them up. You have forgotten Onontio's protection. When he asks your obedience, you want to rule over him, and eat the flesh of those children he does not wish to give to you. Take care, that, if oyu swallow them, Onontio will tear them with violence from between your teeth. I speak as a brother, and I think I am showing pity to your children, by cutting the bonds of your prisoners."

His boldness had the desired effect. The prisoners were released, and two of them were sent with him to Montreal, to be returned to the Iroquois.

On the 22nd of May, 1690, with one hundred and forty-three voyageurs and six Indians, Perrot left Montreal as an escort of Sieur de Louvigny La Porte, a half-pay captain, appointed to succeed Durantaye at Mackinaw, by Frontenac, the new Governor of Canada, who in October of the previous year had arrived, to take the place of Denonville.

Perrot, as he approached Mackinaw, went in advance to notify the French of the coming of the commander of the post. As he came in sight of the settlement, he hoisted the white flag with the fleur de lis and the voyageurs shouted, "Long live the king!" Louvigny soon appeared and was received by one hundred "coureur des bois" under arms.

From Mackinaw, Perrot proceeded to Green Bay, and a party of Miamis there begged him to make a trading establishment on the Mississippi towards the Ouiskonsing (Wisconsin.) The chief made him a present of a piece of lead from a mine which he had found in a small stream which flows into the Mississippi. Perrot promised to visit him within twenty days, and the chief then returned to his village below the d'Ouiskonche (iWsconsin) River.

Having at length reached his post on Lake Pepin, he was informed that the Sioux were forming a large war party against the Outagamis (Foxes) and other allies of the French. He gave notice of his arrival to a party of about four hundred Sioux who were on the Mississippi.

They arrested the messengers and came to the post for the purpose of plunder. Perrot asked them why they acted in this manner, and said that the Foxes, Miamis, Kickapoos, Illinois, and Maskoutens had united in a war party against them, but that he had persuaded them to give it up, and now he wished them to return to their families and to their beaver. The Sioux declared that they had started on the war-path, and that they were ready to die. After they had traded their furs, they sent for Perrot to come to their camp, and begged that he would not hinder them from searching for their foes. Perrot tried to dissuade them, but they insisted that the Spirit had given them men to eat, at three days' journey from the post Then more powerful influences were used. After giving them two kettles and some merchandise, Perrt spoke thus: "I love your life, and I am sure you will be defeated. Your Evil Spirit has deceived you. If you kill the Outagamis, or their allies, you must strike me first; if you kill them, you kill me just the same, for I hold them under one wing and you under the other." After this he extended the calumet, which they at first refused; but at length a chief said he was right, and, making invocations to the sun, wished Perrot to take him back to his arms. This was granted, on condition that he would give up his weapons of war. The chief then tied them to a pole in the centre of the fort, turning them toward the sun. He then persuaded the other chiefs to give up the expedition, and, sending for Perrot, he placed the calumet before him, one end in the earth and the other on a small forked twig to hold it firm. Then he took from his own sack a pair of his cleanest moccasins, and taking off Perrot's shoes, put on these. After he had made him eat, presenting the calumet, he said: "We listen to you now. Do for us as you do for our enemies, and prevent them from killing us, and we will separate for the beaver hunt. The sun is the witness of our obedience."

After this, Perrot descended the Mississippi and revealed to the Maskoutens, who had come to meet him, how he had pacified the Sionx. He, about this period, in accordance with his promise, visited the lead mines. He found the ore abundant "but the lead hard to work because it lay between rocks which required blowing up. It had very little dross and was easily melted."

Penicaut, who ascended the Mississippi in 1700, wrote that twenty leagues below the Wisconsin, on both sides of the Mississippi, were mines of lead called "Nicolas Perrot's." Early French maps indicate as the locality of lead mines the site of modern towns, Galena, in Illinois, and Dubuque, in Iowa.

In August, 1693, about two hundred Frenchmen from Mackinaw, with delegates from the tribes of the West, arrived at Montreal to attend a grand council called by Governor Frontenac, and among these was Perrot.

On the first Sunday in September the governor gave the Indians a great feast, after which they and the traders began to return to the wilderness. Perrot was ordered by Frontenac to establish a new post for the Miamis in Michigan, in the neighborhood of the Kalamazoo River.

Two years later he is present again, in August, at a council in Montreal, then returned to the West, and in 1699 is recalled from Green Bay. In 1701 he was at Montreal acting as interpreter, and appears to have died before 1718: his wife was Madeline Raclos, and his residence was in the Seigneury of Becancourt, not far from Three Rivers, on the St. Lawrence.

CHAPTER VI.

BARON LA HONTAN'S FABULOUS VOYAGE.

La Hontan, a Gascon by Birth.—Early Life.—Description of Fox and Wisconsin Rivers.—Indian Feast.—Alleged Ascent of Long River.—Bobe Exposes the Deception.—Route to the Pacific.

The "Travels" of Baron La Hontan appeared in A. D. 1703, both at London and at Hague, and were as saleable and readable as those of Hennepin, which were on the counters of booksellers at the same time.

La Hontan, a Gascon by birth, and in style of writing, when about seventeen years of age, arrived in Canada, in 1683, as a private soldier, and was with Gov. De la Barre in his expedition of 1684, toward Niagara, and was also in the battle near Rochester, New York, in 1687, at which Du Luth and Perrot, explorers of Minnesota, were present.

In 1688 he appears to have been sent to Fort St. Joseph, which was built by Du Luth, on the St. Clare River, near the site of Fort Gratiot, Michigan. It is possible that he may have accompanied Perrot to Lake Pepin, who came about this time to reoccupy his old post.

From the following extracts it will be seen that his style is graphic, and that he probably had been in 1688 in the valley of the Wisconsin. At Mackinaw, after his return from his pretended voyage of the Long River, he writes:

"I left here on the 24th September, with my men and five Outaouas, good hunters, whom I have before mentioned to you as having been of good service to me. All my brave men being provided with good canoes, filled with provisions and ammunition, together with goods for the Indian trade, I took advantage of a north wind, and in three days entered the Bay of the Pouteouatamis, distant from here about forty leagues. The entrance to the bay is full of islands. It is ten leagues wide and twenty-five in length.

"On the 29th we entered a river, which is quite deep, whose waters are so affected by the lake that they often rise and fall three feet in twelve hours. This is an observation that I made during these three or four days that I passed here. The Sakis, the Poutouatamis, and a few of the Malominis have their villages on the border of this river, and the Jesuits have a house there. In the place there is carried on quite a commerce in furs and Indian corn, which the Indians traffic with the 'coureurs des bois' that go and come, for it is their nearest and most convenient passage to the Mississippi.

"The lands here are very fertile, and produce, almost without culture, the wheat of our Europe, peas, beans, and any quantity of fruit unknown in France.

"The moment I landed, the warriors of three nations came by turns to my cabin to entertain me with the pipe and chief dance; the first in proof of peace and friendship, the second to indicate their esteem and consideration for me. In return, I gave them several yards of tobacco, and beads, with which they trimmed their capots. The next morning, I was asked as a guest, to one of the feasts of this nation, and after having sent my dishes, which is the custom, I went towards noon. They began to compliment me of my arrival, and after hearing them, they all, one after the other, began to sing and dance, in a manner that I will detail to you when I have more leisure. These songs and dances lasted two hours, and were seasoned with whoops of joy, and quibbles that they have woven into their ridiculous musique. Then the captives waited upon us. The whole troop were seated in the Oriental custom. Each one had his portion before him, like our monks in their refectories. They commenced by placing four dishes before me. The first consisted of two white fish simply boiled in water. The second was chopped meats with the boiled tongue of a bear; the third a beaver's tail, all roasted. They made me drink also of a syrup, mixed with water, made out of the maple tree. The feast lasted two

hours, after which, I requested a chief of the nation to sing for me; for it is the custom, when we have business with them, to employ an inferior for self in all the ceremonies they perform. I gave him several pieces of tobacco, to oblige him to keep the party till dark. The next day and the day following, I attended the feasts of the other nations, where I observed the same formalities."

He alleges that, on the 23d of October, he reached the Mississippi River, and, ascending, on the 3d of November he entered into a river, a tributary from the west, that was almost without a current, and at its mouth filled with rushes. He then describes a journey of five hundred miles up this stream. He declares he found upon its banks three great nations, the Eokoros, Essanapes, and Gnacsitares, and because he ascended it for sixty days, he named it Long River.

For years his wondrous story was believed, and geographers hastened to trace it upon their maps. But in time the voyage up the Long River was discovered to be a fabrication. There is extant a letter of Bobe, a Priest of the Congregation of the Mission, dated Versailles, March 15, 1716, and addressed to De L'Isle, the geographer of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, which exposes the deception.

He writes: "It seems to me that you might give the name of Bourbonia to these vast countries which are between the Missouri, Mississippi, and the Western Ocean. Would it not be well to efface that great river which La Hontan says he discovered?

"All the Canadians, and even the Governor General, have told me that this river is unknown. If it existed, the French, who are on the Illinois, and at Ouabache, would know of it. The last volume of the 'Lettres Edifiantes' of the Jesuits, in which there is a very fine relation of the Illinois Country, does not speak of it, any more than the letters which I received this year, which tell wonders of the beauty and goodness of the country. They send me some quite pretty work, made by the wife of one of the principal chiefs.

"They tell me, that among the Scioux, of the Mississippi, there are always Frenchmen trading; that the course of the Mississippi is from north to west, and from west to south; that it is known that toward the source of the Mississippi there is a river in the highlands that leads to the western ocean; that the Indians say that they have seen bearded men with caps, who gather gold-dust on the seashore, but that it is very far from this country, and that they pass through many nations unknown to the French.

"I have a memoir of La Motte Cadillac, formerly Governor of Missilimackinack, who says that if St. Peters [Minnesota] River is ascended to its source they will, according to all appearance, find in the highland another river leading to the Western Ocean.

"For the last two years I have tormented exceedingly the Governor-General, M. Raudot, and M. Duche, to move them to discover this ocean. If I succeed, as I hope, we shall hear tidings before three years, and I shall have the pleasure and the consolation of having rendered a good service to Geography, to Religion and to the State."

Charlevoix, in his History of New France, alluding to La Hontan's voyage, writes: "The voyage up the Long River is as fabulous as the Island of Barrataria, of which Sancho Panza was governor. Nevertheless, in France and elsewhere, most people have received these memoirs as the fruits of the travels of a gentleman who wrote badly, although quite lightly, and who had no religion, but who described pretty sincerely what he had seen. The consequence is that the compilers of historical and geographical dictionaries have almost always followed and cited them in preference to more faithful records."

Even in modern times, Nicollet, employed by the United States to explore the Upper Mississippi, has the following in his report:

"Having procured a copy of La Hontan's book, in which there is a roughly made map of his Long River, I was struck with the resemblance of its course as laid down with that of Cannon River, which I had previously sketched in my own field-book. I soon convinced myself that the principal statements of the Baron in reference to the country and the few details he gives of the physical character of the the river, coincide remarkably with what I had laid down as belonging to Cannon River. Then the lakes and swamps corresponded; traces of Indian villages mentioned by him might be found by a growth of wild grass that propagates itself around all old Indian settlements."

CHAPTER VII.

LE SUEUR, EXPLORER OF THE MINNESOTA RIVER.

Le Sueur Visits Lake Pepin.—Stationed at La Pointe.—Establishes a Post on an Island Above Lake Pepin.—Island Described by Penicaut.—First Sioux Chief at Montreal.—Ojibway Chiefs' Speeches.—Speech of Sioux Chief.—Teoskahtay's Death.—Le Sueur Goes to France.—Posts West of Mackinaw Abandoned.—Le Sueur's License Revoked.—Second Visit to France.—Arrives in Gulf of Mexico with D'Iberville.—Ascends the Mississippi.—Lead Mines.—Canadians Fleeing from the Sioux.—At the Mouth of the Wisconsin.—Sioux Robbers,—Elk Hunting.—Lake Pepin Described.—Rattlesnakes.—La Place Killed.—St. Croix River Named After a Frenchman.—Le Sueur Reaches St. Pierre, now Minnesota River.—Enters Mankahto, or Blue Earth, River.—Sioux of the Plains.—Fort L'Huillier Completed.—Conferences with Sioux Bands.—Assinaboines a Separated Sioux Band.—An Indian Feast.—Names of the Sioux Bands.—Charlevoix's Account.—Le Sueur Goes with D'Iberville to France.—D'Iberville's Memorial.—Early Census of Indian Tribes.—Penicaut's Account of Fort L'Huillier.—Le Sueur's Departure from the Fort.—D'Evaqe Left in Charge.—Return to Mobile.—Juchereau at Mouth of Wisconsin.—Bondor a Montreal Merchant—Sioux Attack Miamis.—Boudor Robbed by the Sioux.

Le Sueur was a native of Canada, and a relative of D'Iberville, the early Governor of Louisiana. He came to Lake Pepin in 1683, with Nicholas Perrot, and his name also appears attached to the document prepared in May, 1689, after Perrot had re-occupied his post just above the entrance of the lake, on the east side.

In 1692, he was sent by Governor Frontenac of Canada, to La Pointe, on Lake Superior, and in a dispatch of 1693, to the French Government, is the following: "Le Sueur, another voyageur, is to remain at Chagouamagon [La Pointe] to endeavor to maintain the peace lately concluded between the Saulteurs [Chippeways] and Sioux. This is of the greatest consequence, as it is now the sole pass by which access can be had to the latter nation, whose trade is very profitable; the country to the south being occupied by the Foxes and Maskoutens, who several times plundered the French, on the ground they were carrying ammunition to the Sioux, their ancient enemies."

Entering the Sioux country in 1694, he established a post upon a prairie island in the Mississippi, about nine miles below the present town of Hastings, according to Bellin and others. Penicaut, who accompanied him in the exploration of the Minnesota, writes, "At the extremity of the lake [Pepin] you come to the Isle Pelee, so called because there are no trees on it. It is on this island that the French from Canada established their fort and storehouse, and they also winter here, because game is very abundant. In the month of September they bring their store of meat, obtained by hunting, and after having skinned and cleaned it, hang it upon a crib of raised scaffolding, in order that the extreme cold, which lasts from September to March, may preserve it from spoiling. During the whole winter they do not go out except for water, when they have to break the ice every day, and the abin is generally built upon the bank, so as not to have far to go. When spring arrives, the savages come to the island, bringing their merchandize."

On the fifteenth of July, 1695, Le Sueur arrived at Montreal with a party of Ojibways, and the *first Dakotah brave* that had ever visited Canada.

The Indians were much impressed with the power of France by the marching of a detachment of seven hundred picked men, under Chevalier Cresafi, who were on their way to La Chine.

On the eighteenth, Frontenac, in the presence of Callieres and other persons of distinction, gave them an audience.

The first speaker was the chief of the Ojibway band at La Pointe, Shingowahbay, who said:

"That he was come to pay his respects to Onontio [the title given the Governor of Canada] in the name of the young warriors of Point Chagouamigon, and to thank him for having given them some Frenchmen to dwell with them; to testify their sorrow for one Jobin, a Frenchman, who was killed at a feast, accidentally, and not maliciously. We come to ask a favor of you, which is to let us act. We are allies of the Sciou. Some Outagamies, or Mascoutins, have been killed. The Sciou came to mourn with us. Let us act, Father; let us take revenge.

"Le Sueur alone, who is acquainted with the language of the one and the other, can serve us. We ask that he return with us."

Another speaker of the Ojibways was Le Brochet.

Teeoskahtay, the Dahkotah chief, before he spoke, spread out a beaver robe, and, laying another with a tobacco pouch and otter skin, began to weep bitterly. After dryiug his tears, he said:

"All of the nations had a father, who afforded them protection; all of them have iron. But he was a bastard in quest of a father; he was come to see him, and hopes that he will take pity on him."

He then placed upon the beaver robe twenty-two arrows, at each arrow naming a Dahkotah village that desired Frontenac's protection. Resuming his speech, he remarked:

"It is not on account of what I bring that I hope him who rules the earth will have pity on me. I learned from the Sauteurs that he wanted nothing; that he was the Master of the Iron; that he had a big heart, into which he could receive all the nations. This has induced me to abandon my people and come to seek his protection, and to beseech bim to receive me among the number of his children. Take courage, Great Captain, and reject me not; despise me not, though I appear poor in your eyes. All the nations here present know that I am rich, and the little they offer here is taken from my lands."

Count Frontenac in reply told the chief that he would receive the Dahkotahs as his children, on condition that they would be obedient, and that he would send back Le Sueur with him.

Teeoskahtay, taking hold of the governor's knees, wept, and said: "Take pity on us; we are well aware that we are not able to speak, being children; but Le Sueur, who understands our language, and has seen all our villages, will next year inform you what will have been achieved by the Sioux nations represented by those arrows before you."

Having finished, a Dahkotah woman, the wife of a great chief whom Le Sueur had purchased from captivity at Mackinaw, approached those in authority, and, with downcast eyes, embraced their knees, weeping and saying:

"I thank thee, Father; it is by thy means I have been liberated, and am no longer captive."

Then Teeoskahtay resumed:

"I speak like a man penetrated with joy. The Great Captain; he who is the Master of Iron, assures me of his protection, and I promise him that if he condescends to restore my children, now prisoners among the Foxes, Ottawas and Hurons, I will return hither, and bring with me the twenty-two villages whom he has just restored to life by promising to send them Iron."

On the 14th of August, two weeks after the Ojibway chief left for his home on Lake Superior, Nicholas Perrot arrived with a deputation of Sauks, Foxes, Menomonees, Miamis of Maramek and Pottowatomies.

Two days after, they had a council with the governor, who thus spoke to a Fox brave:

"I see that you are a young man; your nation has quite turned away from my wishes; it has pillaged some of my young men, whom it has treated as slaves. I know that your father, who loved the French, had no hand in the indignity. You only imitate the example of your father, who had sense, when you do not co-operate with those of your tribe who are wishing to go over to my enemies, after they grossly insulted me and defeated the Sioux, whom I now consider my son. I pity the Sioux; I pity the dead whose loss I deplore. Perrot goes up there, and he will speak to your nation from me for the release of their prisoners; let them attend to him."

Teeoshkahtay never returned to his native land. While in Montreal he was taken sick, and in thirty-three days he ceased to breathe; and, followed by white men, his body was interred in the white man's grave.

Le Sueur instead of going back to Minnesota that year, as was expected, went to France and received a license, in 1697, to open certain mines supposed to exist in Minnesota. The ship in which he was returning was captured by the English, and he was taken to England. After his release he went back to France, and, in 1698, obtained a new commission for mining.

While Le Sueur was in Europe, the Dahkotas waged war against the Foxes and Miamis. In retaliation, the latter raised a war party and entered the land of the Dahkotahs. Finding their foes intrenched, and assisted by "coureurs des bois," they were indignant; and on their return they had a skirmish with some Frenchmen, who were carrying goods to the Dahkotahs.

Shortly after, they met Perrot, and were about to burn him to death, when prevented by some

friendly Foxes. The Miamis, after this, were disposed to be friendly to the Iroquois. In 1696, the year previous, the authorities at Quebec decided that it was expedient to abandon all the posts west of Mackinaw, and withdraw the French from Wisconsin and Minnesota.

The voyageurs were not disposed to leave the country, and the governor wrote to Pontchartrain for instructions, in October, 1698. In his dispatch he remarks:

"In this conjuncture, and under all these circumstances, we consider it our duty to postpone, until new instructions from the court, the execution of Sieur Le Sueur's enterprise for the mines, though the promise had already been given him to send two canoes in advance to Missilimackinac, for the purpose of purchasing there some provisions and other necessaries for his voyage, and that he would be permitted to go and join them early in the spring with the rest of his hands. What led us to adopt this resolution has been, that the French who remained to trade off with the Five Nations the remainder of their merchandise, might, on seeing entirely new comers arriving there, consider themselves entitled to dispense with coming down, and perhaps adopt the resolution to settle there; whilst, seeing no arrival there, with permission to do what is forbidden, the reflection they will be able to make during the winter, and the apprehension of being guilty of crime, may oblige them to return in the spring.

"This would be very desirable, in consequence of the great difficulty there will be in constraining them to it, should they be inclined to lift the mask altogether and become buccaneers; or should Sieur Le Sueur, as he easily could do, furnish them with goods for their beaver and smaller peltry, which he might send down by the return of other Frenchmen, whose sole desire is to obey, and who have remained only because of the impossibility of getting their effects down. This would rather induce those who would continue to lead a vagabond life to remain there, as the goods they would receive from Le Sueur's people would afford them the means of doing so."

In reply to this communication, Louis XIV. answered that—

"His majesty has approved that the late Sieur de Frontenac and De Champigny suspended the execution of the license granted to the man named Le Sueur to proceed, with fifty men, to explore some mines on the banks of the Mississippi. He has revoked said license, and desires that the said Le Sueur, or any other person, be prevented from leaving the colony on pretence of going in search of mines, without his majesty's express permission."

Le Sueur, undaunted by these drawbacks to the prosecution of a favorite project, again visited France.

Fortunately for Le Sueur, D'Iberville, who was a friend, and closely connected by marriage, was appointed governor of the new territory of Louisiana. In the month of December he arrived from France, with thirty workmen, to proceed to the supposed mines in Minnesota.

On the thirteenth of July, 1700, with a felucca, two canoes, and nineteen men, having ascended the Mississippi, he had reached the mouth of the Missouri, and six leagues above this he passed the Illinois. He there met three Canadians, who came to join him, with a letter from Father Marest, who had once attempted a mission among the Dahkotahs, dated July 13, Mission Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin, in Illinois.

"I have the honor to write, in order to inform you that the Saugiestas have been defeated by the Scioux and Ayavois [Iowas]. The people have formed an alliance with the Quincapous [Kickapoos], some of the Mecoutins, Renards [Foxes], and Metesigamias, and gone to revenge themselves, not on the Scioux, for they are too much afraid of them, but perhaps on the Ayavois, or very likely upon the Paoutees, or more probably upon the Osages, for these suspect nothing, and the others are on their guard.

"As you will probably meet these allied nations, you ought to take precaution against their plans, and not allow them to board your vessel, since *they are traitors, and utterly faithless.* I pray God to accompany you in all your designs."

Twenty-two leagues above the Illinois, he passed a small stream which he called the River of Oxen, and nine leagues beyond this he passed a small river on the west side, where he met four Canadians descending the Mississippi, on their way to the Illinois. On the 30th of July, nine leagues above the last-named river, he met seventeen Scioux, in seven canoes, who were going to re-

venge the death of three Scioux, one of whom had been burned, and the others killed, at Tamarois, a few days before his arrival in that village. As he had promised the chief of the Illinois to appease the Scioux who should go to war against his nation, he made a present to the chief of the party to engage him to turn back. He told them the King of France did not wish them to make this river more bloody, and that he was sent to tell them that, if they obeyed the king's word, they would receive in future all things necessary for them. The chief answered that he accepted the present, that is to say, that he would do as had been told him.

From the 30th of July to the 25th of August, Le Sueur advanced fifty-three and one-fourth leagues to a small river which he called the River of the Mine. At the mouth it runs from the north, but it turns to the northeast. On the right seven leagues, there is a lead mine in a prairie, one and a half leagues. The river is only navigable in high water, that is to say, from early spring till the month of June.

From the 25th to the 27th he made ten leagues, passed two small rivers, and made himself acquainted with a mine of lead, from which he took a supply. From the 27th to the 30th he made eleven and a half leagues, and met five Canadians, one of whom had been dangerously wounded in the head. They were naked, and had no ammunition except a miserable gun, with five or six loads of powder and balls. They said they were descending from the Scioux to go to Tamarois, and, when seventy leagues above, they perceived nine canoes in the Mississippi, in which were ninety savages, who robbed and cruelly beat them. This party were going to war against the Scioux, and were composed of four different nations, the Outagamies [Foxes], Poutouwatamis [Pottowattamies], and Puans [Winnebagoes], who dwell in a country eighty leagues east of the Mississippi from where Le Sueur then was.

The Canadians determined to follow the detachment, which was composed of twenty-eight men. This day they made seven and a half leagues. On the 1st of September he passed the Wisconsin river. It runs into the Mississippi from the northeast. It is nearly one and a half miles wide. At about seventy-five leagues up this river, on the right, ascending, there is a portage of more than a league. The half of this portage is shaking ground, and at the end of it is a small river which descends into a bay called Winnebago Bay. It is inhabited by a great number of nations who carry their furs to Canada. Monsieur Le Sueur came by the Wisconsin river to the Mississippi, for the first time, in 1683, on his way to the Scioux country, where he had already passed seven years at different periods. The Mississippi, opposite the mouth of the Wisconsin, is less than half a mile wide. From the 1st of September to the 5th, our voyageur advanced fourteen leagues. He passed the river "Aux Canots," which comes from the northeast, and then the Quincapous, named from a nation which once dwelt upon its banks.

From the 5th to the 9th he made ten and a half leagues, and passed the rivers Cachee and Aux Ailes. The same day he perceived canoes, filled with savages, descending the river, and the five Canadians recognized them as the party who had robbed them. They placed sentinels in the wood, for fear of being surprised by land, and when they had approached within hearing, they cried to them that if they approached farther they would fire. They then drew up by an island, at half the distance of a gun shot. Soon, four of the principal men of the band approached in a canoe, and asked if it was forgotten that they were our brethren, and with what design we had taken arms when we perceived them. Le Sueur replied that he had cause to distrust them, since they had robbed five of his party. Nevertheless, for the surety of his trade, being forced to be at peace with all the tribes, he demanded no redress for the robbery, but added merely that the king, their master and his, wished that his subjects should navigate that river without insult, and that they had better beware how they acted.

The Indian who had spoken was silent, but another said they had been attacked by the Scioux, and that if they did not have pity on them, and give them a little powder, they should not be able to reach their villages. The consideration of a missionary, who was to go up among the Scioux, and whom these savages might meet, induced them to give two pounds of powder.

M. Le Sueur made the same day three leagues; passed a stream on the west, and afterward another river on the east, which is navigable at all times, and which the Indians call Red River.

On the 10th, at daybreak, they heard an elk whistle, on the other side of the river. A Canadian crossed in a small Scioux canoe, which they had found, and shortly returned with the body of the animal, which was very easily killed, "quand il est en rut," that is, from the beginning of September until the end of October. The hunters at this time made a whistle of a piece of wood, or reed, and when they hear an elk whistle they answer it. The animal, believing it to be another elk, approaches, and is killed with ease.

From the 10th to the 14th, M. Le Sueur made seventeen and a half leagues, passing the rivers Raisin and Paquilenettes (perhaps the Wazi Ozu and Buffalo.) The same day he left, on the east side of the Mississippi, a beautiful and large river, which descends from the very far north, and called Bon Secours (Chippeway), on account of the great quantity of buffalo, elk, bears and deers which are found there. Three leagues up this river there is a mine of lead, and seven leagues above, on the same side, they found another long river, in the vicinity of which there is a copper mine, from which he had taken a lump of sixty pounds in a former voyage. In order to make these mines of any account, peace must be obtained between the Scioux and Ouatagamis (Foxes), because the latter, who dwell on the east side of the Mississippi, pass this road continually when going to war against the Sioux.

Penicaut, in his journal, gives a brief description of the Mississippi between the Wisconsin and Lake Pepin. He writes: "Above the Wisconsin, and ten leagues higher on the same side, begins a great prairie extending for sixty leagues along the bank; this prairie is called Aux Ailes. Opposite to Aux Ailes, on the left, there is another prairie facing it called Paquilanet which is not so long by a great deal. Twenty leagues above these prairies is found Lake Bon Secours" [Good Help, now Pepin.]

In this region, at one and a half leagues on the northwest side, commenced a lake, which is six leagues long and more than one broad, called Lake Pepin. It is bounded on the west by a chain of mountains; on the east is seen a prairie; and on the northwest of the lake there is another prairie two leagues long and one wide. In the neighborhood is a chain of mountains quite two hundred feet high, and more than one and a half miles long. In these are found several caves, to which the bears retire in winter. Most of the caverns are more than seventy feet in extent, and two hundred feet high. There are several of which the entrance is very narrow, and quite closed up with saltpetre, It would be dangerous to enter them in summer, for they are filled with rattlesnakes, the bite of which is very dangerous. Le Sueur saw some of these snakes which were six feet in length, but generally they are about four feet. They have teeth resembling those of the pike, and their gums are full of small vessels, in which their poison is placed. The Scioux say they take it every morning, and cast it away at night. They have at the tail a kind of scale which makes a noise, and this is called the rattle.

Le Sueur made on this day seven and a half leagues, and passed another river, called Hiambouxecate Ouataba, or the River of Flat Rock. [The Sioux call the Cannon river Inyanbosndata.]

On the 15th he crossed a small river, and saw in the neighborhood several canoes, filled with Indians, descending the Mississippi. He supposed they were Scioux, because he could not distinguish whether the canoes were large or small. The arms were placed in readiness, and soon they heard the cry of the savages, which they are accustomed to raise when they rush upon their enemies. He caused them to be answered in the same manner; and after having placed all the men behind the trees, he ordered them not to fire until they were commanded. He remained on shore to see what movement the savages would make, and perceiving that they placed two on shore, on the other side, where from an eminence they could ascertain the strength of his forces, he caused the men to pass and repass from the shore to the wood, in order to make them believe that they were numerous. This ruse succeeded, for as soon as the two descended from the eminence the chief of the party came, bearing the calumet, which is a signal of peace among the Indians. They said that having never seen the French navigate the river with boats like the felucca, they had supposed them to be English, and for that reason they had raised the war cry, and arranged themselves on the other side of the Mississippi; but having recognized their flag, they had come without fear to inform them, that one of their number, who was crazy, had accidentally killed a

Frenchman, and that they would go and bring his comrade, who would tell how the mischief had happened.

The Frenchman they brought was Denis, a Canadian, and he reported that his companion was accidentally killed. His name was Laplace, a deserting soldier from Canada, who had taken refuge in this country.

Le Sueur replied, that Onontio (the name they give to all the governors of Canada), being their father and his, they ought not to seek justification elsewhere than before him; and he advised them to go and see him as soon as possible, and beg him to wipe off the blood of this Frenchman from their faces.

The party was composed of forty-seven men of different nations, who dwell far to the east, about the forty-fourth degree of latitude. Le Sueur, discovering who the chiefs were, said the king whom they had spoken of in Canada, had sent him to take possession of the north of the river; and that he wished the nations who dwell on it, as well as those under his protection, to live in peace.

He made this day three and three-fourths leagues; and on the 16th of September, he left a large river on the east side, *named St. Croix, because a Frenchman of that name was shipwrecked at its mouth.* It comes from the north-northwest. Four leagues higher, in going up, is found a small lake, at the mouth of which is a very large mass of copper. It is on the edge of the water, in a small ridge of sandy earth, on the west of this lake. [One of La Salle's men was named St. Croix.]

From the 16th to the 19th, he advanced thirteen and three-fourths leagues. After having made from Tamarois two hundred and nine and a half leagues, he left the navigation of the Mississippi, to enter the river St. Pierre, on the west side. By the 1st of October, he had made in this river forty-four and one-fourth leagues. After he entered Blue river, thus named on account of the mines of blue earth found at its mouth, he founded his post, situated in forty-four degrees, thirteen minutes north latitude. He met at this place nine Scioux, who told him that the river belonged to the Scioux of the west, the Ayavois (Iowas) and Otoctatas (Ottoes), who lived a little farther off; that it was not their custom to hunt on ground belonging to others, unless invited to do so by the owners, and that when they would come to the fort to obtain provisions, they would be in danger of being killed in ascending or descending the rivers, which were narrow, and that if they would show their pity, *he must establish himself on the Mississippi, near the mouth of the St. Pierre*, where the Ayavois, the Otoctatas, and the other Scioux could go as well as they.

Having finished their speech, they leaned over the head of Le Sueur, according to their custom, crying out, "Ouaechissou ouaepanimanabo," that is to say, "Have pity upon us." Le Sueur had foreseen that the establishment of Blue Earth river would not please the Scioux of the East, who were, so to speak, *masters of the other Scioux* and of the nations which will be hereafter mentioned, *because they were the first with whom trade was commenced*, and in consequence of which they had already quite a number of guns.

As he had commenced his operations not only with a view to the trade of beaver but also to gain a knowledge of the mines which he had previously discovered, he told them that he was sorry that he had not known their intentions sooner, and that it was just, since he came expressly for them, that he should establish himself on their land, but that the season was too far advanced for him to return. He then made them a present of powder, balls and knives, and an armful of tobacco, to entice them to assemble, as soon as possible, near the fort he was about to construct, that when they should be all assembled he might tell them the intention of the king, their and his sovereign.

The Scioux of the West, according to the statement of the Eastern Scioux, have more than a thousand lodges. They do not use canoes, nor cultivate the earth, nor gather wild rice. They remain generally on the prairies which are between the Upper Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and live entirely by the chase. The Scioux generally say they have three souls, and that after death, that which has done well goes to the warm country, that which has done evil to the cold regions, and the other guards the body. Polygamy is common among them. They are very jealous, and sometimes fight in duel for their wives. They manage the bow admirably, and have been seen several times to kill ducks on the

wing. They make their lodges of a number of buffalo skins interlaced and sewed, and carry them wherever they go. They are all great smokers, but their manner of smoking differs from that of other Indians. There are some Scioux who swallow all the smoke of the tobacco, and others who, after having kept it some time in their mouth, cause it to issue from the nose. In each lodge there are usually two or three men with their families.

On the third of October, they received at the fort several Scioux, among whom was Wahkantape, chief of the village. Soon two Canadians arrived who had been hunting, and who had been robbed by the Scioux of the East, who had raised their guns against the establishment which M. Le Sueur had made on Blue Earth river.

On the fourteenth the fort was finished and named Fort L'Huillier, and on the twenty-second two Canadians were sent out to invite the Ayavois and Otoctatas to come and establish a village near the fort, because these Indians are industrious and accustomed to cultivate the earth, and they hoped to get provisions from them, and to make them work in the mines.

On the twenty-fourth, six Scioux Oujalespoitons wished to go into the fort, but were told that they did not receive men who had killed Frenchmen. This is the term used when they have insulted them. The next day they came to the lodge of Le Sueur to beg him to have pity on them. They wished, according to custom, to weep over his head and make him a present of packs of beavers, which he refused. He told them he was surprised that people who had robbed should come to him; to which they replied that they had heard it said that two Frenchmen had been robbed, but none from their village had been present at that wicked action.

Le Sueur answered, that he knew it was the Mendeoucantons and not the Oujalespoitons; "but," continued he, "you are Scioux; it is the Scioux who have robbed me, and if I were to follow your manner of acting I should break your heads; for is it not true, that when a stranger (it is thus they call the Indians who are not Scioux) has insulted a Scioux, Mendeoucanton, Oujalespoitons, or others—all the villages revenge upon the first one they meet?"

As they had nothing to answer to what he said to them, they wept and repeated, according to custom, "Ouaechissou! ouaepanimanabo!" Le Sueur told them to cease crying, and added that the French had good hearts, and that they had come into the country to have pity on them. At the same time he made them a present, saying to them, "Carry back your beavers and say to all the Scioux, that they will have from me no more powder or lead, and they will no longer smoke any long pipe until they have made satisfaction for robbing the Frenchman.

The same day the Canadians, who had been sent off on the 22d, arrived without having found the road which led to the Ayavois and Otoctatas. On the 25th, Le Sueur went to the river with three canoes, which he filled with green and blue earth. It is taken from the hills near which are very abundant mines of copper, some of which was worked at Paris in 1696, by L'Huillier, one of the chief collectors of the king. Stones were also found there which would be curious, if worked.

On the ninth of November, eight Mantanton Scioux arrived, who had been sent by their chiefs to say that the *Mendeoucantons were still at their lake on the east of the Mississippi*, and they could not come for a long time; and that for a single village which had no good sense, the others ought not to bear the punishment; and that they were willing to make reparation if they knew how. Le Sueur replied that he was glad that they had a disposition to do so.

On the 15th the two Mantanton Scioux, who had been sent expressly to say that all of the Scioux of the east, and part of those of the west, were joined together to come to the French, because they had heard that the Christianaux and the Assinipoils were making war on them. These two nations dwell above the fort on the east side, more than eighty leagues on the Upper Mississippi.

The Assinipoils speak Scioux, and are certainly of that nation. It is only a few years since that they became enemies. The enmity thus originated: The Christianaux, having the use of arms before the Scioux, through the English at Hudson's Bay, they constantly warred upon the Assinipoils, who were their nearest neighbors. The latter, being weak, sued for peace, and to render it more lasting, married the Christianaux

women. The other Scioux, who had not made the compact, continued the war; and, seeing some Christianaux with the Assinipoils, broke their heads. The Christianaux furnished the Assinipoils with arms and merchandise.

On the 16th the Scioux returned to their village, and it was reported that the Ayavois and Otoctatas were gone to establish themselves towards the Missouri River, near the Maha, who dwell in that region. On the 26th the Mantantons and Oujalespoitons arrived at the fort; and, after they had encamped in the woods, Wahkantape came to beg Le Sueur to go to his lodge. He there found sixteen men with women and children, with their faces daubed with black. In the middle of the lodge were several buffalo skins which were sewed for a carpet. After motioning him to sit down, they wept for the fourth of an hour, and the chief gave him some wild rice to eat (as was their custom), putting the first three spoonsful to his mouth. After which, he said all present were relatives of Tioscate, whom Le Sueur took to Canada in 1695, and who died there in 1696.

At the mention of Tioscate they began to weep again, and wipe their tears and heads upon the shoulders of Le Sueur. Then Wahkantape again spoke, and said that Tioscate begged him to forget the insult done to the Frenchmen by the Mendeoucantons, and take pity on his brethren by giving them powder and balls whereby they could defend themselves, and gain a living for their wives and children, who languish in a country full of game, because they had not the means of killing them. "Look," added the chief, "Behold thy children, thy brethren, and thy sisters; it is to thee to see whether thou wishest them to die. They will live if thou givest them powder and ball; they will die if thou refusest."

Le Sueur granted them their request, but as the Scioux never answer on the spot, especially in matters of importance, and as he had to speak to them about his establishment he went out of the lodge without saying a word. The chief and all those within followed him as far as the door of the fort; and when he had gone in, they went around it three times, crying with all their strength, "Atheouanan!" that is to say, "Father, have pity on us." [Ate unyanpi, means Our Father.]

The next day, he assembled in the fort the principal men of both villages; and as it is not possible to subdue the Scioux or to hinder them from going to war, unless it be by inducing them to cultivate the earth, he said to them that if they wished to render themselves worthy of the protection of the king, they must abandon their erring life, and form a village near his dwelling, where they would be shielded from the insults of of their enemies; and that they might be happy and not hungry, he would give them all the corn necessary to plant a large piece of ground; that the king, their and his chief, in sending him, had forbidden him to purchase beaver skins, knowing that this kind of hunting separates them and exposes them to their enemies; and that in consequence of this he had come to establish himself on Blue River and vicinity, where they had many times assured him were many kinds of beasts, for the skins of which he would give them all things necessary; that they ought to reflect that they could not do without French goods, and that the only way not to want them was, not to go to war with our allied nations.

As it is customary with the Indians to accompany their word with a present proportioned to the affair treated of, he gave them fifty pounds of powder, as many balls, six guns, ten axes, twelve armsful of tobacco, and a hatchet pipe.

On the first of December, the Mantantons invited Le Sueur to a great feast. Of four of their lodges they had made one, in which were one hundred men seated around, and every one his dish before him. After the meal, Wahkantape, the chief, made them all smoke, one after another, in the hatchet pipe which had been given them. He then made a present to Le Sueur of a slave and a sack of wild rice, and said to him, showing him his men: "Behold the remains of this great village, which thou hast aforetimes seen so numerous! All the others have been killed in war; and the few men whom thou seest in this lodge, accept the present thou hast made them, and are resolved to obey the great chief of all nations, of whom thou hast spoken to us. Thou oughtest not to regard us as Scioux, but as French, and instead of saying the Scioux are miserable, and have no mind, and are fit for nothing but to rob and steal from the French, thou shalt say my brethren are miserable and have no mind, and we must

try to procure some for them. They rob us, but I will take care that they do not lack iron, that is to say, all kinds of goods. If thou dost this, I assure thee that in a little time the Mantantons will become Frenchmen, and they will have none of those vices, with which thou reproachest us."

Having finished his speech, he covered his face with his garment, and the others imitated him. They wept over their companions who had died in war, and chanted an adieu to their country in a tone so gloomy, that one could not keep from partaking of their sorrow.

Wahkantape then made them smoke again, and distributed the presents, and said that he was going to the Mendeoucantons, to inform them of the resolution, and invite them to do the same.

On the twelfth, three Mendeoucauton chiefs, and a large number of Indians of the same village, arrived at the fort, and the next day gave satisfaction for robbing the Frenchmen. They brought four hundred pounds of beaver skins, and promised that the summer following, after their canoes were built and they had gathered their wild rice, that they would come and establish themselves near the French. The same day they returned to their village east of the Mississippi.

NAMES OF THE BANDS OF SCIOUX OF THE EAST, WITH THEIR SIGNIFICATION.

MANTANTONS—That is to say, Village of the Great Lake which empties into a small one.

MENDEOUACANTONS—Village of Spirit Lake.

QUIOPETONS—Village of the Lake with one River.

PSIOUMANITONS—Village of Wild Rice Gatherers.

OUADEBATONS—The River Village.

OUAETEMANETONS—Village of the Tribe who dwell on the Point of the Lake.

SONGASQUITONS—The Brave Village,

THE SCIOUX OF THE WEST.

TOUCHOUAESINTONS—The Village of the Pole.

PSINCHATONS—Village of the Red Wild Rice.

OUJALESPOITONS—Village divided into many small Bands.

PSINOUTANHINIIINTONS — The Great Wild Rice Village.

TINTANGAOUGHIATONS — The Grand Lodge Village.

OUAEPETONS—Village of the Leaf.

OUGHETGEODATONS—Dung Village.

OUAPEONTETONS—Village of those who shoot in the Large Pine.

HINHANETONS — Village of the Red Stone Quarry.

The above catalogue of villages concludes the extract that La Harpe has made from Le Sueur's journal.

In the narrative of Major Long's second expedition, there are just as many villages of the Gens du Lac, or M'dewakantonwan Scioux mentioned, though the names are different. After leaving the Mille Lac region, the divisions evidently were different, and the villages known by new names.

Charlevoix, who visited the valley of the Lower Mississippi in 1722, says that Le Sueur spent a winter in his fort on the banks of the Blue Earth, and that in the following April he went up to the mine, about a mile above. In twenty-two days they obtained more than thirty thousand pounds of the substance, four thousand of which were selected and sent to France.

On the tenth of February, 1702, Le Sueur came back to the post on the Gulf of Mexico, and found D'Iberville absent, who, however, arrived on the eighteenth of the next month, with a ship from France, loaded with supplies. After a few weeks, the Governor of Louisiana sailed again for the old country, Le Sueur being a fellow passenger.

On board of the ship, D'Iberville wrote a memorial upon the Mississippi valley, with suggestions for carrying on commerce therein, which contains many facts furnished by Le Sueur. A copy of the manuscript was in possession of the Historical Society of Minnesota, from which are the following extracts:

"If the Sioux remain in their own country, they are useless to us, being too distant. We could have no commerce with them except that of the beaver. *M. Le Sueur, who goes to France to give an account of this country,* is the proper person to make these movements. He estimates the Sioux at four thousand families, who could settle upon the Missouri.

"He has spoken to me of another which he calls the Mahas, composed of more than twelve hundred families. The Ayoues (Ioways) and the Octoctatas, their neighbors, are about three hundred families. They occupy the lands be-

tween the Mississippi and the Missouri, about one hundred leagues from the Illinois. These savages do not know the use of arms, and a descent might be made upon them in a river, which is beyond the Wabash on the west. * * *

"The Assiniboucl, Quenistinos, and people of the north, who are upon the rivers which fall into the Mississippi, and trade at Fort Nelson (Hudson Bay), are about four hundred. We could prevent them from going there if we wish."

"In four or five years we can establish a commerce with these savages of sixty or eighty thousand buffalo skins; more than one hundred deer skins, which will produce, delivered in France, more than two million four hundred thousand livres yearly. One might obtain for a buffalo skin four or five pounds of wool, which sells for twenty sous, two pounds of coarse hair at ten sous.

"Besides, from smaller peltries, two hundred thousand livres can be made yearly."

In the third volume of the "History and Statistics of the Indian Tribes," prepared under the direction of the Commissioner of Indian affairs, by Mr. Schoolcraft, a manuscript, a copy of which was in possession of General Cass, is referred to as containing the first enumeration of the Indians of the Mississippi Valley. The following was made thirty-four years earlier by D'Iberville:

"The Sioux, ...	Families,	4,000
Mahas, ...		12,000
Octata and Ayoues, ...		300
Canses [Kansas], ...		1,500
Missouri, ...		1,500
Akansas, &c., ...		200
Manton [Mandan], ...		100
Panis [Pawnee], ...		2,000
Illinois, of the great village and Camaroua [Tamaroa], ...		800
Meosigamea [Metchigamias], ...		200
Kikapous and Mascoutens, ...		450
Miamis, ...		500
Chactas, ...		4,000
Chicachas, ...		2,000
Mobiliens and Chohomes, ...		350
Concaques [Conchas], ...		2,000
Ouma [Houmas], ...		150
Colapissa, ...		250
Bayogoula, ...		100
People of the Fork, ...		200
Counica, &c. [Tonicas], ...		300
Nadeches, ...		1,500
Belochy, [Biloxi] Pascoboula, ...		100
Total, ...		23,850

"The savage tribes located in the places I have marked out, make it necessary to establish three posts on the Mississippi, one at the Arkansas, another at the Wabash (Ohio), and the third at the Missouri. At each post it would be proper to have an officer with a detachment of ten soldiers with a sergeant and corporal. All Frenchmen should be allowed to settle there with their families, and trade with the Indians, and they might establish tanneries for properly dressing the buffalo and deer skins for transportation.

"No Frenchman *shall be allowed to follow the Indians on their hunts, as it tends to keep them hunters*, as is seen in Canada, and when they are in the woods, they do not desire to become *tillers of the soil.* * * * * * * *

"I have said nothing in this memoir of which I have not personal knowledge or the most reliable sources. The most of what I propose is founded upon personal reflection in relation to what might be done for the defence and advancement of the colony. * * * * * * * It will be absolutely necessary that the king should define the limits of this country in relation to the government of Canada. It is important that the commandant of the Mississippi should have a report of those who inhabit the rivers that fall into the Mississippi, and principally those of the river Illinois.

"The Canadians intimate to the savages that they ought not to listen to us but to the governor of Canada, who always speaks to them with large presents, that the governor of Mississippi is mean and never sends them any thing. This is true, and what I cannot do. It is imprudent to accustom the savages to be spoken to by presents, for, with so many, it would cost the king more than the revenue derived from the trade. When they come to us, it will be necessary to bring them in subjection, make them no presents, and *compel* them to do what we wish, *as if they were Frenchmen.*

"The Spaniards have divided the Indians into parties on this point, and we can do the same. When one nation does wrong, we can cease to

trade with them, and threaten to draw down the hostility of other Indians. We rectify the difficulty by having missionaries, who will bring them into obedience *secretly*.

"The Illinois and Mascoutens have detained the French canoes they find upon the Mississippi, saying that the governors of Canada have given them permission. I do not know whether this is so, but if true, it follows that we have not the liberty to send any one on the Mississippi.

"M. Le Sueur would have been taken if he had not been the strongest. Only one of the canoes he sent to the Sioux was plundered." * * *

Penicaut's account varies in some particulars from that of La Harpe's. He calls the Mahkahto Green River instead of Blue and writes: "We took our route by its mouth and ascended it forty leagues, when we found another river falling into the Saint Pierre, which we entered. We called this the Green River because it is of that color by reason of a green earth which loosening itself from from the copper mines, becomes dissolved and makes it green.

"A league up this river, we found a point of land a quarter of a league distant from the woods, and it was upon this point that M. Le Sueur resolved to build his fort, because we could not go any higher on account of the ice, it being the last day of September. Half of our people went hunting whilst the others worked on the fort. We killed four hundred buffaloes, which were our provisions for the winter, and which we placed upon scaffolds in our fort, after having skinned and cleaned and quartered them. We also made cabins in the fort, and a magazine to keep our goods. After having drawn up our shallop within the inclosure of the fort, we spent the winter in our cabins.

"When we were working in our fort in the beginning seven French traders from Canada took refuge there. They had been pillaged and stripped naked by the Sioux, a wandering nation living only by hunting and plundering. Among these seven persons there was a Canadian gentleman of Le Sueur's acquaintance, whom he recognized at once, and gave him some clothes, as he did also to all the rest, and whatever else was necessary for them. They remained with us during the entire winter at our fort, where we had not food enough for all, except buffalo meat which we had not even salt to eat with. We had a good deal of trouble the first two weeks in accustoming ourselves to it, having fever and diarrhœa and becoming so tired of it as to hate the smell. But by degrees our bodies became adapted to it so well that at the end of six weeks there was not one of us who could not eat six pounds of meat a day, and drink four bowls of broth. As soon as we were accustomed to this kind of living it made us very fat, and then there was no more sickness.

"When spring arrived we went to work in the copper mine. This was the beginning of April of this year [1701.] We took with us twelve laborers and four hunters. This mine was situated about three-quarters of a league from our post. We took from the mine in twenty days more than twenty thousand pounds weight of ore, of which we only selected four thousand pounds of the finest, which M. Le Sueur, who was a very good judge of it, had carried to the fort, and which has since been sent to France, though I have not learned the result.

"This mine is situated at the beginning of a very long mountain, which is upon the bank of the river, so that boats can go right to the mouth of the mine itself. At this place is the green earth, which is a foot and a half in thickness, and above it is a layer of earth as firm and hard as stone, and black and burnt like coal by the exhalation from the mine. The copper is scratched out with a knife. There are no trees upon this mountain. * * * After twenty-two days' work, we returned to our fort. When the Sioux, who belong to the nation of savages who pillaged the Canadians, came they brought us merchandize of furs.

"They had more than four hundred beaver robes, each robe made of nine skins sewed together. M. Le Sueur purchased these and many other skins which he bargained for, in the week he traded with the savages. * * * * We sell in return wares which come very dear to the buyers, especially tobacco from Brazil, in the proportion of a hundred crowns the pound; two little horn-handled knives, and four leaden bullets are equal to ten crowns in exchange for skins; and so with the rest.

"In the beginning of May, we launched our shallop in the water, and loaded it with green

earth that had been taken out of the river, and with the furs we had traded for, of which we had three canoes full. M. Le Sueur before going held council with M. D'Evaque [or Eraque] the Canadian gentleman, and the three great chiefs of the Sioux, three brothers, and told them that as he had to return to the sea, he desired them to live in peace with M. D'Evaque, whom he left in command at Fort L'Huillier, with twelve Frenchmen. M. Le Sueur made a considerable present to the three brothers, chiefs of the savages, desiring them to never abandon the French. Afterward we the twelve men whom he had chosen to go down to the sea with him embarked. In setting out, M. Le Sueur promised to M. D'Evaque and the twelve Frenchmen who remained with him to guard the fort, to send up munitions of war from the Illinois country as soon as he should arrive there; which he did, for on getting there he sent off to him a canoe loaded with two thousand pounds of lead and powder, with three of our people in charge."

Le Sueur arrived at the French fort on the Gulf of Mexico in safety, and in a few weeks, in the spring of 1701, sailed for France, with his kinsman, D'Iberville, the first governor of Louisiana.

In the spring of the next year (1702) D'Evaque came to Mobile and reported to D'Iberville, who had come back from France, that he had been attacked by the Foxes and Maskoutens, who killed three Frenchmen who were working near Fort L'Huillier, and that, being out of powder and lead, he had been obliged to conceal the goods which were left and abandon the post. At the Wisconsin River he had met Juchereau, formerly criminal judge in Montreal, with thirty-five men, on his way to establish a tannery for buffalo skins at the Wabash, and that at the Illinois he met the canoe of supplies sent by Bienville. D'Iberville's brother.

La Motte Cadillac, in command at Detroit, in a letter written on August 31st, 1703, alludes to Le Sueur's expedition in these words: "Last year they sent Mr. Boudor, a Montreal merchant, into the country of the Sioux to join Le Sueur. He succeeded so well in that journey he transported thither twenty-five or thirty thousand pounds of merchandize with which to trade in all the country of the Outawas. This proved to him an unfortunate investment, as he has been robbed of a part of the goods by the Outagamies. The occasion of the robbery by one of our own allies was as follows. I speak with a full knowledge of the facts as they occurred while I was at Michillimackianc. From time immemorial our allies have been at war with the Sioux, and on my arrival there in conformity to the order of M. Frontenac, the most able man who has ever come into Canada, I attempted to negotiate a truce between the Sioux and all our allies. Succeeding in this negotiation I took the occasion to turn their arms against the Iroquois with whom we were then at war, and soon after I effected a treaty of peace between the Sioux and the French and their allies which lasted two years.

"At the end of that time the Sioux came, in great numbers, to the villages of the Miamis, under pretense of ratifying the treaty. They were well received by the Miamis, and, after spending several days in their villages, departed, apparently perfectly satisfied with their good reception, as they certainly had every reason to be.

"The Miamis, believing them already far distant, slept quietly; but the Sioux, who had premeditated the attack, returned the same night to the principal village of the Miamis, where most of the tribe were congregated, and, taking them by surprise, slaughtered nearly three thousand(?) and put the rest to flight..

"This perfectly infuriated all the nations. They came with their complaints, begging me to join with them and exterminate the Sioux. But the war we then had on our hands did not permit it, so it became necessary to play the orator in a long harangue. In conclusion I advised them to 'sweep their dead, and wrap them up, and leave them to sleep coldly till the day of vengeance should come;' telling them we must sweep the land on this side of the Iroquois, as it was necessary to extinguish even their memory, after which the allied tribes could more easily avenge the atrocious deed that the Sioux had just committed upon them. In short, I managed them so well that the affair was settled in the manner that I proposed.

"But the twenty-five permits still existed, and the cupidity of the French induced them to go among the Sioux to trade for beaver. Our allies complained bitterly of this, saying it was injust-

ice to them, as they had taken up arms in our quarrel against the Iroquois, while the French traders were carrying munitions of war to the Sioux to enable them to kill the rest of our allies as they had the Miamis.

"I immediately informed M. Frontenac, and M. Champigny having read the communication, and commanded that an ordinance be published at Montreal forbidding the traders to go into the country of the Sioux for the purpose of traffic under penalty of a thousand francs fine, the confiscation of the goods, and other arbitrary penalties. The ordinance was sent to me and faithfully executed. The same year [1699] I descended to Quebec, having asked to be relieved. Since that time, in spite of this prohibition, the French have continued to trade with the Sioux, but not without being subject to affronts and indignities from our allies themselves which bring dishonor on the French name. * * * I do not consider it best any longer to allow the traders to carry on commerce with the Sioux, under any pretext whatever, especially as M. Boudor has just been robbed by the Fox nation, and M. Jucheraux has given a thousand crowns, in goods, for the right of passage through the country of the allies to his habitation.

"The allies say that Le Sueur has gone to the Sioux on the Mississippi; that they are resolved to oppose him, and if he offers any resistance they will not be answerable for the consequences. It would be well, therefore, to give Le Sueur warning by the Governor of Mississippi.

"The Sauteurs [Chippeways] being friendly with the Sioux wished to give passage through their country to M. Boudor and others, permitting them to carry arms and other munitions of war to this nation; but the other nations being opposed to it, differences have arisen between them which have resulted in the robbery of M. Boudor. This has given occasion to the Sauteurs to make an outbreak upon the Sacs and Foxes, killing thirty or forty of them. So there is war among the people."

CHAPTER VIII.

EVENTS WHICH LED TO BUILDING FORT BEAUHARNOIS ON LAKE PEPIN.

Re-Establishment of Mackinaw.—Sieur de Louvigny at Mackinaw.—De Lignery at Mackinaw.—Louvigny Attacks the Foxes.—Du Luth's Post Reoccupied.—Saint Pierre at La Pointe on Lake Superior.—Preparations for a Jesuit Mission among the Sioux.—La Perriere Boucher's Expedition to Lake Pepin.—De Gonor and Guiguas, Jesuit Missionaries.—Visit to Foxes and Winnebagoes.—Wisconsin River Described.—Fort Beauharnois Built.—Fireworks Displayed.—High Water at Lake Pepin.—De Gonor Visits Mackinaw.—Boucherville, Montbrun and Guiguas Captured by Indians.—Montbrun's Escape.—Boucherville's Presents to Indians.—Exaggerated Account of Father Guiguas' Capture.—Dispatches Concerning Fort Beauharnois.—Sieur de la Jemeraye.—Saint Pierre at Fort Beauharnois.—Trouble between Sioux and Foxes.—Sioux Visit Quebec.—De Lusignan Visits the Sioux Country.—Saint Pierre Noticed in the Travels of Jonathan Carver and Lieutenant Pike.

After the Fox Indians drove away Le Sueur's men, in 1702, from the Makahto, or Blue Earth river, the merchants of Montreal and Quebec did not encourage trade with the tribes beyond Mackinaw.

D'Aigreult, a French officer, sent to inspect that post, in the summer of 1708, reported that he arrived there, on the 19th of August, and found there but fourteen or fifteen Frenchmen. He also wrote: "Since there are now only a few wanderers at Michilimackinack, the greater part of the furs of the savages of the north goes to the English trading posts on Hudson's Bay. The Outawas are unable to make this trade by themselves, because the northern savages are timid, and will not come near them, as they have often been plundered. It is, therefore, necessary that the French be allowed to seek these northern tribes at the mouth of their own river, which empties into Lake Superior."

Louis de la Porte, the Sieur De Louvigny, in 1690, accompanied by Nicholas Perrot, with a detachment of one hundred and seventy Canadians and Indians, came to Mackinaw, and until 1694 was in command. when he was recalled.

In 1712, Father Joseph J. Marest the Jesuit missionary wrote, "If this country ever needs M. Louvigny it is now; the savages say it is absolutely necessary that he should come for the safety of the country, to unite the tribes and to defend those whom the war has caused to return to Michilimacinac. * * * * * * I do not know what course the Pottawatomies will take, nor even what course they will pursue who are here, if M. Louvigny does not come, especially if the Foxes were to attack them or us."

The next July, M. Lignery urged upon the authorities the establishment of a garrison of trained soldiers at Mackinaw, and the Intendant of Canada wrote to the King of France:

"Michilimackinac might be re-established, without expense to his Majesty, either by surrendering the trade of the post to such individuals as will obligate themselves to pay all the expenses of twenty-two soldiers and two officers; to furnish munitions of war for the defense of the fort, and to make presents to the savages.

"Or the expenses of the post might be paid by the sale of permits, if the King should not think proper to grant an exclusive commerce. It is absolutely necessary to know the wishes of the King concerning these two propositions; and as M. Lignery is at Michilimackinac, it will not be any greater injury to the colony to defer the re-establishment of this post, than it has been for eight or ten years past."

The war with England ensued, and in April, 1713, the treaty of Utrecht was ratified. France had now more leisure to attend to the Indian tribes of the West.

Early in 1714, Mackinaw was re-occupied, and on the fourteenth of March, 1716, an expedition under Lieutenant Louvigny, left Quebec. His arrival at Mackinaw, where he had been long expected, gave confidence to the voyageurs, and friendly Indians, and with a force of eight hundred men, he proceeded against the Foxes in Wisconsin. He brought with him two pieces of cannon and a grenade mortar, and besieged the fort of the Foxes, which he stated contained five hundred warriors, and three thousand men, a declaration which can scarcely be credited. After

three days of skirmishing, he prepared to mine the fort, when the Foxes capitulated.

The paddles of the birch bark canoes and the gay songs of the voyageurs now began to be heard once more on the waters of Lake Superior and its tributaries. In 1717, the post erected by Du Luth, on Lake Superior near the northern boundary of Minnesota, was re-occupied by Lt. Robertel de la Noue.

In view of the troubles among the tribes of the northwest, in the month of September, 1718, Captain St. Pierre, who had great influence with the Indians of Wisconsin and Minnesota, was sent with Ensign Linctot and some soldiers to re-occupy La Pointe on Lake Superior, now Bayfield, in the northwestern part of Wisconsin. The chiefs of the band there, and at Keweenaw, had threatened war against the Foxes, who had killed some of their number.

When the Jesuit Charlevoix returned to France after an examination of the resources of Canada and Louisiana, he urged that an attempt should be made to reach the Pacific Ocean by an inland route, and suggested that an expedition should proceed from the mouth of the Missouri and follow that stream, or that a post should be established among the Sioux which should be the point of departure. The latter was accepted, and in 1722 an allowance was made by the French Government, of twelve hundred livres, for two Jesuit missionaries to accompany those who should establish the new post. D'Avagour, Superintendent of Missions, in May, 1723, requested the authorities to grant a separate canoe for the conveyance of the goods of the proposed mission, and as it was necessary to send a commandant to persuade the Indians to receive the missionaries, he recommended Sieur Pachot, an officer of experience.

A dispatch from Canada to the French government, dated October 14, 1723, announced that Father de la Chasse, Superior of the Jesuits, expected that, the next spring, Father Guymoneau, and another missionary from Paris, would go to the Sioux, but that they had been hindered by the Sioux a few months before killing seven Frenchmen, on their way to Louisiana. The aged Jesuit, Joseph J. Marest, who had been on Lake Pepin in 1689 with Perrot, and was now in Montreal, said that it was the wandering Sioux who had killed the French, but he thought the stationary Sioux would receive Christian instruction.

The hostility of the Foxes had also prevented the establishment of a fort and mission among the Sioux.

On the seventh of June, 1726, peace was concluded by De Lignery with the Sauks, Foxes, and Winnebagoes at Green Bay; and Linctot, who had succeeded Saint Pierre in command at La Pointe, was ordered, by presents and the promise of a missionary, to endeavor to detach the Dahkotahs from their alliance with the Foxes. At this time Linctot made arrangements for peace between the Ojibways and Dahkotas, and sent two Frenchmen to dwell in the villages of the latter, with a promise that, if they ceased to fight the Ojibways, they should have regular trade, and a "black robe" reside in their country.

Traders and missionaries now began to prepare for visiting the Sioux, and in the spring of 1727 the Governor of Canada wrote that the fathers, appointed for the Sioux mission, desired a case of mathematical instruments, a universal astronomic dial, a spirit level, chain and stakes, and a telescope of six or seven feet tube.

On the sixteenth of June, 1727, the expedition for the Sioux country left Montreal in charge of the Sieur de la Perriere who was son of the distinguished and respected Canadian, Pierre Boucher, the Governor of Three Rivers.

La Perriere had served in Newfoundland and been associated with Hertel de Rouville in raids into New England, and gained an unenviable notoriety as the leader of the savages, while Rouville led the French in attacks upon towns like Haverhill, Massachusetts, where the Indians exultingly killed the Puritan pastor, scalped his loving wife, and dashed out his infant's brains against a rock. He was accompanied by his brother and other relatives. Two Jesuit fathers, De Gonor and Pierre Michel Guignas, were also of the party.

In Shea's "Early French Voyages" there was printed, for the first time, a letter from Father Guignas, from the Brevoort manuscripts, written on May 29, 1728, at Fort Beauharnois, on Lake Pepin, which contains facts of much interest.

He writes: "The Scioux convoy left the end of Montreal Island on the 16th of the month of June last year, at 11 A. M., and reached Michili-

mackinac the 22d of the month of July. This post is two hundred and fifty-one leagues from Montreal, almost due west, at 45 degrees 46 minutes north latitude.

"We spent the rest of the month at this post, in the hope of receiving from day to day some news from Montreal, and in the design of strengthening ourselves against the alleged extreme difficulties of getting a free passage through the Foxes. At last, seeing nothing, we set out on our march, the first of the month of August, and, after seventy-three leagues quite pleasant sail along the northerly side of Lake Michigan, running to the southeast, we reached the Bay [Green] on the 8th of the same month, at 5:30 P. M. This post is at 44 degrees 43 minutes north latitude.

"We stopped there two days, and on the 11th in the morning, we embarked, in a very great impatience to reach the Foxes. On the third day after our departure from the bay, quite late in the afternoon, in fact somewhat in the night, the chiefs of the Puans [Winnebagoes] came out three leagues from their village to meet the French, with their peace calumets and some bear meat as a refreshment, and the next day we were received by that small nation, amid several discharges of a few guns, and with great demonstrations.

"They asked us with so good a grace to do them the honor to stay some time with them that we granted them the rest of the day from noon, and the following day. There may be in all the village, sixty to eighty men, but all the men and women of very tall stature, and well made. They are on the bank of a very pretty little lake, in a most agreeable spot for its situation and the goodness of the soil, nineteen leagues from the bay and eight leagues from the Foxes.

"Early the next morning, the 15th of the month of August, the convoy preferred to continue its route, with quite pleasant weather, but a storm coming on in the afternoon, we arrived quite wet, still in the rain, at the cabins of the Foxes, a nation so much dreaded, and really so little to be dreaded. From all that we could see, it is composed of two hundred men at most, but there is a perfect hive of children, especially boys from ten to fourteen years old, well formed.

"They are cabined on a little eminence on the bank of a small river that bears their name, extremely tortuous or winding, so that you are constantly boxing the compass. Yet it is apparently quite wide, with a chain of hills on both sides, but there is only one miserable little channel amid this extent of apparent bed, which is a kind of marsh full of rushes and wild rice of almost impenetrable thickness. They have nothing but mere bark cabins, without any kind of palisade or other fortification. As soon as the French canoes touched their shore they ran down with their peace calumets, lighted in spite of the rain, and all smoked.

"We stayed among them the rest of this day, and all the next, to know what were their designs and ideas as to the French post among the Sioux. The Sieur Reaume, interpreter of Indian languages at the Bay, acted efficiently there, and with devotion to the King's service. Even if my testimony, Sir, should be deemed not impartial, I must have the honor to tell you that Rev. Father Chardon, an old missionary, was of very great assistance there, and the presence of three missionaries reassured these cut-throats and assassins of the French more than all the speeches of the best orators could have done.

"A general council was convened in one of the cabins, they were addressed in decided friendly terms, and they replied in the same way. A small present was made to them. On their side they gave some quite handsome dishes, lined with dry meat.

On the following Sunday, 17th of the month of August, very early in the morning, Father Chardon set out, with Sieur Reaume, to return to the Bay, and the Sioux expedition, greatly rejoiced to have so easily got over this difficulty, which had everywhere been represented as so insurmountable, got under way to endeavor to reach its journey's end.

"Never was navigation more tedious than what we subsequently made from uncertainty as to our course. No one knew it, and we got astray every moment on water and on land for want of a guide and pilots. We kept on, as it were feeling our way for eight days, for it was only on the ninth, about three o'clock p. m., that we arrived, by accident, believing ourselves still far off, at the portage of the Ouisconsin, which is forty-five leagues from the Foxes, counting all the twists and turns of this abominable river.

This portage is half a league in length, and half of that is a kind of marsh full of mud,

"The Ouisconsin is quite a handsome river, but far below what we had been told, apparently, as those who gave the description of it in Canada saw it only in the high waters of spring. It is a shallow river on a bed of quicksand, which forms bars almost everywhere, and these often change place. Its shores are either steep, bare mountains or low points with sandy base. Its course is from northeast to southwest. From the portage to its mouth in the Mississippi, I estimated thirty-eight leagues. The portage is at 43 deg. 24 min. north latitude.

"The Mississippi from the mouth of the Ouisconsin ascending, goes northwest. This beautiful river extends between two chains of high, bare and very sterile mountains, constantly a league, three-quarters of a league, or where it is narrowest, half a league apart. Its centre is occupied by a chain of well wooded islands, so that regarding from the heights above, you would think you saw an endless valley watered on the right and left by two large rivers; sometimes, too, you could discern no river. These islands are overflowed every year, and would be adapted to raising rice. Fifty-eight leagues from the mouth of the Ouisconsin, according to my calculation, ascending the Mississippi, is Lake Pepin, which is nothing else but the river itself, destitute of islands at that point, where it may be half a league wide. This river, in what I traversed of it, is shallow, and has shoals in several places, because its bed is moving sands, like that of the Ouisconsin.

"On the 17th of September, 1727, at noon, we reached this lake, which had been chosen as the bourne of our voyage. We planted ourselves on the shore about the middle of the north side, on a low point, where the soil is excellent. The wood is very dense there, but is already thinned in consequence of the rigor and length of the winter, which has been severe for the climate, for we are here on the parallel of 43 deg. 41 min. It is true that the difference of the winter is great compared to that of Quebec and Montreal, for all that some poor judges say.

"From the day after our landing we put our axes to the wood: on the fourth day following the fort was entirely finished. It is a square plat of one hundred feet, surrounded by pickets twelve feet long, with two good bastions. For so small a space there are large buildings quite distinct and not huddled together, each thirty, thirty-eight, and twenty-five feet long by sixteen feet wide.

"All would go well there if the spot were not inundated, but this year [1728], on the 15th of the month of April, we were obliged to camp out, and the water ascended to the height of two feet and eight inches in the houses, and it is idle to say that it was the quantity of snow that fell this year. The snow in the vicinity had melted long before, and there was only a foot and a half from the 8th of February to the 15th of March; you could not use snow-shoes.

"I have great reason to think that this spot is inundated more or less every year; I have always thonght so, but they were not obliged to believe me, as old people who said that they had lived in this region fifteen or twenty years declared that it was never overflowed. We could not enter our much-devastated houses until the 30th of April, and the disorder is even now scarcely repaired.

"Before the end of October [1727] all the houses were finished and furnished, and each one found himself tranquilly lodged at home. They then thought only of going out to explore the hills and rivers and to see those herds of all kinds of deer of which they tell such stories in Canada. They must have retired, or diminished greatly, since the time the *old voyageurs* left the country; they are no longer in such great numbers, and are killed with difficulty.

"After beating the field, for some time, all reassembled at the fort, and thought of enjoying a little the fruit of their labors. On the 4th of November we did not forget it was the General's birthday. Mass was said for him [Beauharnois, Governor-General of Canada] in the morning, and they were well disposed to celebrate the day in the evening, but the tardiness of the pyrotechnists and the inconstancy of the weather caused them to postpone the celebration to the 14th of the same month, when they set off some very fine rockets and made the air ring with an hundred shouts of *Vive le Roy!* and *Vive Charles de Beauharnois!* It was on this occasion that the wine of the Sioux was broached; it was *par ex-*

cellence, although there are no wines here finer than in Canada.

"What contributed much to the amusement, was the terror of some cabins of Indians, who were at the time around the fort. When these poor people saw the fireworks in the air, and the stars fall from heaven, the women and children began to take flight, and the most courageous of the men to cry mercy, and implore us very earnestly to stop the surprising play of that wonderful medicine.

"As soon as we arrived among them, they assembled, in a few days, around the French fort to the number of ninety-five cabins, which might make in all one hundred and fifty men; for there are at most two men in their portable cabins of dressed skins, and in many there is only one. This is all we have seen except a band of about sixty men, who came on the 26th of the month of February, who were of those nations called Sioux of the Prairies.

"At the end of November, the Indians set out for their winter quarters. They do not, indeed, go far, and we saw some of them all through the winter; but from the second of the month of April last, when some cabins repassed here to go in search of them, [he] sought them in vain, during a week, for more than sixty leagues of the Mississippi. He [La Perriere?] arrived yesterday without any tidings of them.

"Although I said above, that the Sioux were alarmed at the rockets, which they took for new phenomena, it must not be supposed from that they were less intelligent than other Indians we know. They seem to me more so; at least they are much gayer and open, apparently, and far more dextrous thieves, great dancers, and great medicine men. The men are almost all large and well made, but the women are very ugly and disgusting, which does not, however, check debauchery among them, and is perhaps an effect of it."

In the summer of 1728 the Jesuit De Gonor left the fort on Lake Pepin, and, by way of Mackinaw, returned to Canada. The Foxes had now become very troublesome, and De Lignery and Beaujeu marched against their stronghold, to find they had retreated to the Mississippi River.

On the 12th of October, Boucherville, his brother Montbrun, a young cadet of enterprising spirit, the Jesuit Guignas, and other Frenchmen, eleven in all, left Fort Pepin to go to Canada, by way of the Illinois River. They were captured by the Mascoutens and Kickapoos, and detained at the river "Au Bœuf," which stream was probably the one mentioned by Le Sueur as twenty-two leagues above the Illinois River, although the same name was given by Hennepin to the Chippewa River, just below Lake Pepin. They were held as prisoners, with the view of delivering them to the Foxes. The night before the delivery the Sieur Montbrun and his brother and another Frenchman escaped. Montbrun, leaving his sick brother in the Illinois country, journeyed to Canada and informed the authorities.

Boucherville and Guignas remained prisoners for several months, and the former did not reach Detroit until June, 1729, The account of expenditures made during his captivity is interesting as showing the value of merchandize at that time. It reads as follows:

"Memorandum of the goods that Monsieur de Boucherville was obliged to furnish in the service of the King, from the time of his detention among the Kickapoos, on the 12th of October, 1728, until his return to Detroit, in the year 1729, in the month of June. On arriving at the Kickapoo village, he made a present to the young men to secure their opposition to some evil minded old warriors—

Two barrels of powder, each fifty pounds at Montreal price, valued at the sum of	150 liv.
One hundred pounds of lead and balls making the sum of	50 liv.
Four pounds of vermillion, at 12 francs the pound	48 fr.
Four coats, braided, at twenty francs	80 fr.
Six dozen knives at four francs the dozen	24 fr.
Four hundred flints, one hundred gun-worms, two hundred ramrods and one hundred and fifty files, the total at the maker's prices	90 liv.

After the Kickapoos refused to deliver them to the Renards [Foxes] they wished some favors, and I was obliged to give them the following which would allow them to weep over and cover their dead:

Two braided coats @ 20 fr. each	40fr.
Two woolen blankets @ 15 fr	30
One hundred pounds of powder @ 30 sous	75
One hundred pounds of lead @ 10 sous	25

Two pounds of vermillion @ 12 fr..... 24fr.
Moreover, given to the Renards to cover their dead and prepare them for peace, fifty pounds of powder, making..... 75
One hundred pounds of lead (@ 10 sous. 50
Two pounds of vermillion (@ 12 fr..... 24

During the winter a considerable party was sent to strike hands with the Illinois. Given at that time:

Two blue blankets (@ 15 fr..... 30
Four men's shirts (@ 6 fr..... 24
Four pairs of long-necked bottles @ 6 fr 24
Four dozen of knives (@ 4 fr..... 16
Gun-worms, files, ramrods, and flints, estimated..... 40

Given to engage the Kickapoos to establish themselves upon a neighboring isle, to protect from the treachery of the Renards—

Four blankets, (@ 15f..... 60f
Two pairs of bottles, 6f..... 24
Two pounds of vermillion, 12f..... 24
Four dozen butcher knives, 6f..... 24
Two woolen blankets, (@ 15f..... 30
Four pairs of bottles, (@ 6f..... 24
Four shirts, (@ 6f..... 24
Four dozen of knives, (@ 4f..... 16

The Renards having betrayed and killed their brothers, the Kickapoos, I seized the favorable opportunity, and to encourage the latter to avenge themselves, I gave—

Twenty-five pounds of powder, (@ 30sous 37f.10s.
Twenty-five pounds of lead, (@ 10s..... 12f.10s.
Two guns at 30 livres each..... 60f
One half pound of vermillion..... 6f
Flints, guns, worms and knives..... 20f
The Illinois coming to the Kikapoos village, I supported them at my expense, and gave them powder, balls and shirts valued at..... 50f
In departing from the Kikapoos village, I gave them the rest of the goods for their good treatment, estimated at.... 80f

In a letter, written by a priest, at New Orleans, on July 12, 1730, is the following exaggerated account of the capture of Father Guignas: "We always felt a distrust of the Fox Indians, although they did not longer dare to undertake anything, since Father Guignas has detached from their alliance the tribes of the Kikapous and Maskoutins. You know, my Reverend Father, that, being in Canada, he had the courage to penetrate even to the Sioux near the sources of the Mississippi, at the distance of eight hundred leagues from New Orleans and five hundred from Quebec. Obliged to abandon this important mission by the unfortunate result of the enterprise against the Foxes, he descended the river to repair to the Illinois. On the 15th of October in the year 1728 he was arrested when half way by the Kickapous and Maskoutins. For four months he was a captive among the Indians, where he had much to suffer and everything to fear. The time at last came when he was to be burned alive, when he was adopted by an old man whose family saved his life and procured his liberty.

"Our missionaries who are among the Illinois were no sooner acquainted with the situation than they procured him all the alleviation they were able. Everything which he received he employed to conciliate the Indians, and succeeded to the extent of engaging them to conduct him to the Illinois to make peace with the French and Indians of this region. Seven or eight months after this peace was concluded, the Maskoutins and Kikapous returned again to the Illinois country, and took back Father Guignas to spend the winter, from whence, in all probability, he will return to Canada."

In dispatches sent to France, in October, 1729, by the Canadian government, the following reference is made to Fort Beauharnois: "They agree that the fort built among the Scioux, on the border of Lake Pepin, appears to be badly situated on account of the freshets, but the Indians assure that the waters rose higher in 1728 than it ever did before. When Sieur de Laperriere located it at that place it was on the assurance of the Indians that the waters did not rise so high." In reference to the absence of Indians, is the following:

"It is very true that these Indians did leave shortly after on a hunting excursion, as they are in the habit of doing, for their own support and that of their families, who have only that means of livelihood, as they do not cultivate the soil at all. M. de Beauharnois has just been informed that their absence was occasioned only by having fallen in while hunting with a number of prairie Scioux, by whom they were invited to accompany them on a war expedition against the Mahas,

which invitation they accepted, and returned only in the month of July following.

"The interests of religion, of the service, and of the colony, are involved in the maintenance of this establishment, which has been the more necessary as there is no doubt but the Foxes, when routed, would have found an asylum among the Scioux had not the French been settled there, and the docility and submission manifested by the Foxes can not be attributed to any cause except the attention entertained by the Scioux for the French, and the offers which the former made the latter, of which the Foxes were fully cognisant.

"It is necessary to retain the Scioux in these favorable dispositions, in order to keep the Foxes in check and counteract the measures they might adopt to gain over the Scioux, who will invariably reject their propositions so long as the French remain in the country, and their trading post shall continue there. But, despite all these advantages and the importance of preserving that establishment, M. de Beauharnois cannot take any steps until he has news of the French who asked his permission this summer to go up there with a canoe load of goods, and until assured that those who wintered there have not dismantled the fort, and that the Scioux continue in the same sentiments. Besides, it does not seem very easy, in the present conjuncture, to maintain that post unless there is a solid peace with the Foxes; on the other hand, the greatest portion of the traders, who applied in 1727 for the establishment of that post, have withdrawn, and will not send thither any more, as the rupture with the Foxes, through whose country it is necessary to pass in order to reach the Scioux in canoe, has led them to abandon the idea. But the one and the other case might be remedied. The Foxes will, in all probability, come or send next year to sue for peace; therefore, if it be granted to them on advantageous conditions, there need be no apprehension when going to the Sioux, and another company could be formed, less numerous than the first, through whom, or some responsible merchants able to afford the outfit, a new treaty could be made, whereby these difficulties would be soon obviated. One only trouble remains, and that is, to send a commanding and sub-officer, and some soldiers, up there, which are absolutely necessary for the maintenance of good order at that post; the missionaries would not go there without a commandant. This article, which regards the service, and the expense of which must be on his majesty's account, obliges them to apply for orders. They will, as far as lies in their power, induce the traders to meet that expense, which will possibly amount to 1000 livres or 1500 livres a year for the commandant, and in proportion for the officer under him; but, as in the beginning of an establishment the expenses exceed the profits, it is improbable that any company of merchants will assume the outlay, and in this case they demand orders on this point, as well as his majesty's opinion as to the necessity of preserving so useful a post, and a nation which has already afforded proofs of its fidelity and attachment.

"These orders could be sent them by the way of Ile Royale, or by the first merchantmen that will sail for Quebec. The time required to receive intelligence of the occurrences in the Scioux country, will admit of their waiting for these orders before doing anything."

Sieur de la Jemeraye, a relative of Sieur de la Perriere Boucher, with a few French, during the troubles remained in the Sioux country. After peace was established with the Foxes, Legardeur Saint Pierre was in command at Fort Beauharnois, and Father Guignas again attempted to establish a Sioux mission. In a communication dated 12th of October, 1736, by the Canadian authorities is the following: "In regard to the Scioux, Saint Pierre, who commanded at that post, and Father Guignas, the missionary, have written to Sieur de Beauharnois on the tenth and eleventh of last April, that these Indians appeared well intentioned toward the French, and had no other fear than that of being abandoned by them. Sieur de Beauharnois annexes an extract of these letters, and although the Scioux seem very friendly, the result only can tell whether this fidelity is to be absolutely depended upon, for the unrestrained and inconsistent spirit which composes the Indian character may easily change it. They have not come over this summer as yet, but M. de la St. Pierre is to get them to do so next year, and to have an eye on their proceedings."

The reply to this communication from Louis

XV. dated Versailles, May 10th, 1737, was in these words: "As respects the Scioux, according to what the commandant and missionary at that post have written to Sieur de Beauharnois relative to the disposition of these Indians, nothing appears to be wanting on that point.

"But their delay in coming down to Montreal since the time they have promised to do so, must render their sentiments somewhat suspected, and nothing but facts can determine whether their fidelity can be absolutely relied on. But what must still further increase the uneasiness to be entertained in their regard is the attack on the convoy of M. de Verandrie, especially if this officer has adopted the course he had informed the Marquis de Beauharnois he should take to have revenge therefor."

The particulars of the attack alluded to will be found in the next chapter. Soon after this the Foxes again became troublesome, and the post on Lake Pepin was for a time abandoned by the French. A dispatch in 1741 uses this language: "The Marquis de Beauharnois' opinion respecting the war against the Foxes, has been the more readily approved by the Baron de Longeuil, Messieurs De la Chassaigne, La Corne, de Lignery, La Noue, and Duplessis-Fabert, whom he had assembled at his house, as it appears from all the letters that the Count has written for several years, that he has nothing so much at heart as the destruction of that Indian nation, which can not be prevailed on by the presents and the good treatment of the French, to live in peace, notwithstanding all its promises.

"Besides, it is notorious that the Foxes have a secret understanding with the Iroquois, to secure a retreat among the latter, in case they be obliged to abandon their villages. They have one already secured among the Sioux of the prairies, with whom they are allied; so that, should they be advised beforehand of the design of the French to wage war against them, it would be easy for them to retire to the one or the other before their passage could be intersected or themselves attacked in their villages."

In the summer of 1743, a deputation of the Sioux came down to Quebec, to ask that trade might be resumed. Three years after this, four Sioux chiefs came to Quebec, and asked that a commandant might be sent to Fort Beauharnois; which was not granted.

During the winter of 1745-6, De Lusignan visited the Sioux country, ordered by the government to hunt up the "coureurs des bois," and withdraw them from the country. They started to return with him, but learning that they would be arrested at Mackinaw, for violation of law, they ran away. While at the villages of the Sioux of the lakes and plains, the chiefs brought to this officer nineteen of their young men, bound with cords, who had killed three Frenchmen, at the Illinois. While he remained with them, they made peace with the Ojibways of La Pointe, with whom they had been at war for some time. On his return, four chiefs accompanied him to Montreal, to solicit pardon for their young braves.

The lessees of the trading-post lost many of their peltries that winter in consequence of a fire.

Reminiscences of St. Pierre's residence at Lake Pepin were long preserved. Carver, in 1766, "observed the ruins of a French factory, where, it is said, Captain St. Pierre resided, and carried on a great trade with the Nadouessies before the reduction of Canada."

Pike, in 1805, wrote in his journal: "Just below Pt. Le Sable, the French, who had driven the Renards [Foxes] from Wisconsin, and chased them up the Mississippi, built a stockade on this lake, as a barrier against the savages. It became a noted factory for the Sioux."

CHAPTER IX.

VERENDRYE, THE EXPLORER OF NORTHERN MINNESOTA, AND DISCOVERER OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

Conversation of Verendrye with Father De Gonor.—Parentage and Early Life.—Old Indian Map Preserved.—Verendrye's Son and Nephew Explore Pigeon River and Reach Rainy Lake.—Father Messayer a Companion.—Fort St. Pierre Established.—Lake of the Woods Reached and Fort St. Charles Built.—De la Jemeraye's Map.—Fort on the Assinaboine River.—Verendrye's Son, Father Ouneau and Associates Killed by Sioux, on Massacre Isle, in Lake of the Woods.—Fort La Reine.—Verendrye's Eldest Son, with Others, Reaches the Missouri River.—Discovers the Rocky Mountains.—Returns to Lake of the Woods.—Exploration of Saskatchewan River.—Sieur de la Verendrye Jr.—Verendrye the Father, made Captain of the Order of St. Louis.—His Death.—The Swedish Traveler, Kalm, Notices Verendrye.—Bougainville Describes Verendrye's Explorations.—Legardeur de St. Pierre at Fort La Reine.—Fort Jonquiere Established.—De la Corne Succeeds St. Pierre.—St. Pierre Meets Washington at French Creek, in Pennsylvania.—Killed in Battle, near Lake George.

Early in the year 1728, two travelers met at the secluded post of Mackinaw, one was named De Gonor, a Jesuit Father, who with Guignas, had gone with the expedition, that the September before had built Fort Beauharnois on the shores of Lake Pepin, the other was Pierre Gualtier Varennes, the Sieur de la Verendrye the commander of the post on Lake Nepigon of the north shore of Lake Superior, and a relative of the Sieur de la Perriere, the commander at Lake Pepin.

Verendrye was the son of Rene Gualtier Varennes who for twenty-two years was the chief magistrate at Three Rivers, whose wife was Marie Boucher, the daughter of his predecessor whom he had married when she was twelve years of age. He became a cadet in 1697, and in 1704 accompanied an expedition to New England. The next year he was in Newfoundland and the year following he went to France, joined a regiment of Brittany and was in the conflict at Malplaquet when the French troops were defeated by the Duke of Marlborough. When he returned to Canada he was obliged to accept the position of ensign notwithstanding the gallant manner in which he had behaved. In time he became identified with the Lake Superior region. While at Lake Nepigon the Indians assured him that there was a communication largely by water to the Pacific Ocean. One, named Ochagachs, drew a rude map of the country, which is still preserved among the French archives. Pigeon River is marked thereon Mantohavagane, and the River St. Louis is marked R. fond du L. Superior, and the Indians appear to have passed from its headwaters to Rainy Lake. Upon the western extremity is marked the River of the West.

De Gonor conversed much upon the route to the Pacific with Verendrye, and promised to use his influence with the Canadian authorities to advance the project of exploration.

Charles De Beauharnois, the Governor of Canada, gave Verendrye a respectful hearing, and carefully examined the map of the region west of the great lakes, which had been drawn by Ochagachs (Otchaga), the Indian guide. Orders were soon given to fit out an expedition of fifty men. It left Montreal in 1731, under the conduct of his sons and nephew De la Jemeraye, he not joining the party till 1733, in consequence of the detentions of business.

In the autumn of 1731, the party reached Rainy Lake, by the Nantouagan, or Groselliers river, now called Pigeon. Father Messayer, who had been stationed on Lake Superior, at the Groselliers river, was taken as a spiritual guide. At the foot of Rainy Lake a post was erected and called Fort St. Pierre, and the next year, having crossed Minittie, or Lake of the Woods, they established Fort St. Charles on its southwestern bank. Five leagues from Lake Winnipeg they established a post on the Assinaboine. An unpublished map of these discoveries by De la Jemeraye still exists at Paris. The river Winnipeg, called by them Maurepas, in honor of the minister of France in 1734, was protected by a fort of the same name.

About this time their advance was stopped by the exhaustion of supplies, but on the 12th of April, 1735, an arrangement was made for a second equipment. and a fourth son joined the expedition.

In June, 1736, while twenty-one of the expedi-

tion were camped upon an isle in the Lake of the Woods, they were surprised by a band of Sioux hostile to the French allies, the Cristinaux, and all killed. The island, upon this account, is called Massacre Island. A few days after, a party of five Canadian voyageurs discovered their dead bodies and scalped heads. Father Ouneau, the missionary, was found upon one knee, an arrow in his head, his breast bare, his left hand touching the ground, and the right hand raised.

Among the slaughtered was also a son of Verendrye, who had a tomahawk in his back, and his body adorned with garters and bracelets of porcupine. The father was at the foot of the Lake of the Woods when he received the news of his son's murder, and about the same time heard of the death of his enterprising nephew, Dufrost de la Jemeraye, the son of his sister Marie Reine de Varennes, and brother of Madame Youville, the foundress of the Hospitaliers at Montreal.

It was under the guidance of the latter that the party had, in 1731, mastered the difficulties of the Nantaouagon, or Groselliers river.

On the 3d of October, 1738, they built an advanced post, Fort La Reine, on the river Assiniboels, now Assinaboine, which they called St Charles, and beyond was a branch called St. Pierre. These two rivers received the baptismal name of Verendrye, which was Pierre, and Governor Beauharnois, which was Charles. The post became the centre of trade and point of departure for explorations, either north or south.

It was by ascending the Assinaboine, and by the present trail from its tributary, Mouse river, they reached the country of the Mantanes, and in 1741, came to the upper Missouri, passed the Yellow Stone, and at length arrived at the Rocky Mountains. The party was led by the eldest son and his brother, the chevalier. They left the Lake of the Woods on the 29th of April, 1742, came in sight of the Rocky Mountains on the 1st of January, 1743, and on the 12th ascended them. On the route they fell in with the Beaux Hommes, Pioya, Petits Renards, and Arc tribes, and stopped among the Snake tribe, but could go no farther in a southerly direction, owing to a war between the Arcs and Snakes.

On the 19th of May, 1744, they had returned to the upper Missouri, and, in the country of the Petite Cerise tribe, they planted on an eminence a leaden plate of the arms of France, and raised a monument of stones, which they called Beauharnois. They returned to the Lake of the Woods on the 2d of July.

North of the Assiniboine they proceeded to Lake Dauphin, Swan's Lake, explored the river "Des Biches," and ascended even to the fork of the Saskatchewan, which they called Poskoiac. Two forts were subsequently established, one near Lake Dauphin and the other on the river "des Biches," called Fort Bourbon. The northern route, by the Saskatchewan, was thought to have some advantage over the Missouri, because there was no danger of meeting with the Spaniards.

Governor Beauharnois having been prejudiced against Verendrye by envious persons, De Noyelles was appointed to take command of the posts. During these difficulties, we find Sieur de la Verendrye, Jr., engaged in other duties. In August, 1747, he arrives from Mackinaw at Montreal, and in the autumn of that year he accompanies St. Pierre to Mackinaw, and brings back the convoy to Montreal. In February, 1748, with five Canadians, five Cristenaux, two Ottawas, and one Sauteur, he attacked the Mohawks near Schenectady, and returned to Montreal with two scalps, one that of a chief. On June 20th, 1748, it is recorded that Chevalier de la Verendrye departed from Montreal for the head of Lake Superior. Margry states that he perished at sea in November, 1764, by the wreck of the "Auguste."

Fortunately, Galissioniere the successor of Beauharnois, although deformed and insignificant in appearance, was fair minded, a lover of science, especially botany, and anxious to push discoveries toward the Pacific. Verendrye the father was restored to favor, and made Captain of the Order of St. Louis, and ordered to resume explorations, but he died on December 6th, 1749, while planning a tour up the Saskatchewan.

The Swedish Professor, Kalm, met him in Canada, not long before his decease, and had interesting conversations with him about the furrows on the plains of the Missouri, which he erroneously conjectured indicated the former abode of an agricultural people. These ruts are familiar to modern travelers, and may be only buffalo trails.

Father Coquard, who had been associated with

Verendrye, says that they first met the Mantanes, and next the Brochets. After these were the Gros Ventres, the Crows, the Flat Heads, the Black Feet, and Dog Feet, who were established on the Missouri, even up to the falls, and that about thirty leagues beyond they found a narrow pass in the mountains.

Bougainville gives a more full account: he says: "He who most advanced this discovery was the Sieur de la Veranderie. He went from Fort la Reine to the Missouri. He met on the banks of this river the Mandans, or White Beards, who had seven villages with pine stockades, strengthened by a ditch. Next to these were the Kinongewiniris. or the Brochets, in three villages, and toward the upper part of the river were three villages of the Mahantas. All along the mouth of the Wabeik, or Shell River, were situated twenty-three villages of the Panis. To the southwest of this river, on the banks of the Ouanaradeba, or La Graisse, are the Hectanes or Snake tribe. They extend to the base of a chain of mountains which runs north northeast. South of this is the river Karoskiou, or Cerise Pelee, which is supposed to flow to California.

"He found in the immense region watered by the Missouri, and in the vicinity of forty leagues, the Mahantas, the Owiliniock, or Beaux Hommes, four villages; opposite the Brochets the Black Feet, three villages of a hundred lodges each; opposite the Mandans are the Ospekakaerenousques, or Flat Heads, four villages; opposite the Panis are the Arcs of Cristinaux, and Utasibaoutchatas of Assiniboel, three villages; following these the Makesch, or Little Foxes, two villages; the Piwassa, or great talkers, three villages; the Kakokoschena, or Gens de la Pie, five villages; the Kiskipisounouini,, or the Garter tribe, seven villages."

Galassoniere was succeeded by Jonquiere in the governorship of Canada, who proved to be a grasping, peevish, and very miserly person. For the sons of Verendrye he had no sympathy, and forming a clique to profit by their father's toils, he determined to send two expeditions toward the Pacific Ocean, one by the Missouri and the other by the Saskatchewan.

Father Coquard, one of the companions of Verendrye, was consulted as to the probability of finding a pass in the Rocky Mountains, through which they might, in canoes, reach the great lake of salt water, perhaps Puget's Sound.

The enterprise was at length confided to two experienced officers, Lamarque de Marin and Jacques Legardeur de Saint Pierre. The former was assigned the way, by the Missouri, and to the latter was given the more northern route; but Saint Pierre in some way excited the hostility of the Cristinaux, who attempted to kill him, and burned Fort la Reine. His lieutenant, Boucher de Niverville, who had been sent to establish a post toward the source of the Saskatchewan, failed on account of sickness. Some of his men, however, pushed on to the Rocky Mountains, and in 1753 established Fort Jonquiere. Henry says St. Pierre established Fort Bourbon.

In 1753, Saint Pierre was succeeded in the command of the posts of the West, by de la Corne, and sent to French Creek, in Pennsylvania. He had been but a few days there when he received a visit from Washington, just entering upon manhood, bearing a letter from Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, complaining of the encroachments of the French.

Soon the clash of arms between France and England began, and Saint Pierre, at the head of the Indian allies, fell near Lake George, in September, 1755, in a battle with the English. After the seven years' war was concluded, by the treaty of Paris, the French relinquished all their posts in the Northwest, and the work begun by Verendrye, was, in 1805, completed by Lewis and Clarke; and the Northern Pacific Railway is fast approaching the passes of the Rocky Mountains, through the valley of the Yellow Stone, and from thence to the great land-locked bay of the ocean, Puget's Sound.

CHAPTER X.

EFFECT OF THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH WAR.

English Influence Increasing.—Le Duc Robbed at Lake Superior.—St. Pierre at Mackinaw.—Escape of Indian Prisoners.—La Ronde and Verendrye.—Influence of Sieur Marin.—St. Pierre Recalled from Winnipeg Region.—Interview with Washington.—Langlade Urges Attack Upon Troops of Braddock.—Saint Pierre Killed in Battle.—Marin's Boldness.—Rogers, a Partisan Ranger, Commands at Mackinaw.—At Ticonderoga.—French Deliver up the Posts in Canada.—Capt. Balfour Takes Possession of Mackinaw and Green Bay.—Lieut. Gorrell in Command at Green Bay.—Sioux Visit Green Bay.—Pennensha a French Trader Among the Sioux.—Treaty of Paris.

English influence produced increasing dissatisfaction among the Indians that were beyond Mackinaw. Not only were the voyageurs robbed and maltreated at Sault St. Marie and other points on Lake Superior, but even the commandant at Mackinaw was exposed to insolence, and there was no security anywhere.

On the twenty-third of August, 1747, Philip Le Duc arrived at Mackinaw from Lake Superior, stating that he had been robbed of his goods at Kamanistigoya, and that the Ojibways of the lake were favorably disposed toward the English. The Dahkotahs were also becoming unruly in the absence of French officers.

In a few weeks after Le Duc's robbery, St. Pierre left Montreal to become commandant at Mackinaw, and Vercheres was appointed for the post at Green Bay. In the language of a document of the day, St. Pierre was "a very good officer, much esteemed among all the nations of those parts; none more loved and feared." On his arrival, the savages were so cross, that he advised that no Frenchman should come to trade.

By promptness and boldness, he secured the Indians who had murdered some Frenchmen, and obtained the respect of the tribes. While the three murderers were being conveyed in a canoe down the St. Lawrence to Quebec, in charge of a sergeant and seven soldiers, the savages, with characteristic cunning, though manacled, succeeded in killing or drowning the guard. Cutting their irons with an axe, they sought the woods, and escaped to their own country. "Thus," writes Galassoniere, in 1748, to Count Maurepas, was lost in a great measure the fruit of Sieur St. Pierre's good management, and of all the fatigue I endured to get the nations who surrendered these rascals to listen to reason."

On the twenty-first of June of the next year, La Ronde started to La Pointe, and Verendrye for West Sea, or Fon du Lac, Minnesota.

Under the influence of Sieur Marin, who was in command at Green Bay in 1753, peaceful relations were in a measure restored between the French and Indians.

As the war between England and France deepened, the officers of the distant French posts were called in and stationed nearer the enemy. Legardeur St. Pierre, was brought from the Lake Winnipeg region, and, in December, 1753, was in command of a rude post near Erie, Pennsylvania. Langlade, of Green Bay, Wisconsin, arrived early in July, 1755, at Fort Duquesne. With Beauyeu and De Lignery, who had been engaged in fighting the Fox Indians, he left that fort, at nine o'clock of the morning of the 9th of July, and, a little after noon, came near the English, who had halted on the south shore of the Monongahela, and were at dinner, with their arms stacked. By the urgent entreaty of Langlade, the western half-breed, Beauyeu, the officer in command ordered an attack, and Braddock was overwhelmed, and Washington was obliged to say, "We have been beaten, shamefully beaten, by a handful of Frenchmen."

Under Baron Dieskau, St. Pierre commanded the Indians, in September, 1755, during the campaign near Lake George, where he fell gallantly fighting the English, as did his commander. The Rev. Claude Coquard, alluding to the French defeat, in a letter to his brother, remarks:

"We lost, on that occasion, a brave officer, M. de St. Pierre, and had his advice, as well as that of several other Canadian officers, been followed, Jonckson [Johnson] was irretrievably destroyed.

and we should have been spared the trouble we have had this year."

Other officers who had been stationed on the borders of Minnesota also distinguished themselves during the French war. The Marquis Montcalm, in camp at Ticonderoga, on the twenty-seventh of July, 1757, writes to Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada:

"Lieutenant Marin, of the Colonial troops, who has exhibited a rare audacity, did not consider himself bound to halt, although his detachment of about four hundred men was reduced to about two hundred, the balance having been sent back on account of inability to follow. He carried off a patrol of ten men, and swept away an ordinary guard of fifty like a wafer; went up to the enemy's camp, under Fort Lydias (Edward), where he was exposed to a severe fire, and retreated like a warrior. He was unwilling to amuse himself making prisoners; he brought in only one, and thirty-two scalps, and must have killed many men of the enemy, in the midst of whose ranks it was neither wise nor prudent to go in search of scalps. The Indians generally all behaved well. * * * The Outaouais, who arrived with me, and whom I designed to go on a scouting party towards the lake, had conceived a project of administering a corrective to the English barges. * * * On the day before yesterday, your brother formed a detachment to accompany them. I arrived at his camp on the evening of the same day. Lieutenant de Corbiere, of the Colonial troops, was returning, in consequence of a misunderstanding, and as I knew the zeal and intelligence of that officer, I made him set out with a new instruction to join Messrs de Langlade and Hertel de Chantly. They remained in ambush all day and night yesterday; at break of day the English appeared on Lake St. Sacrament, to the number of twenty-two barges, under the command of Sieur Parker. The whoops of our Indians impressed them with such terror that they made but feeble resistance, and only two barges escaped."

After De Corbiere's victory on Lake Champlain, a large French army was collected at Ticonderoga, with which there were many Indians from the tribes of the Northwest, and the Ioways appeared for the first time in the east.

It is an interesting fact that the English officers who were in frequent engagements with St. Pierre, Lusignan, Marin, Langlade, and others, became the pioneers of the British, a few years afterwards, in the occupation of the outposts of the lakes, and in the exploration of Minnesota.

Rogers, the celebrated captain of rangers, subsequently commander of Mackinaw, and Jonathan Carver, the first British explorer of Minnesota, were both on duty near Lake Champlain, the latter narrowly escaping at the battle of Fort George.

On Christmas eve, 1757, Rogers approached Fort Ticonderoga, to fire the outhouses, but was prevented by discharge of the cannons of the French.

He contented himself with killing fifteen beeves, on the horns of one of which he left this laconic and amusing note, addressed to the commander of the post:

"I am obliged to you, Sir, for the repose you have allowed me to take; *I thank you for the fresh meat you have sent me*, I request you to present my compliments to the Marquis du Montcalm."

On the thirteenth of March, 1758, Durantaye, formerly at Mackinaw, had a skirmish with Rogers. Both had been trained on the frontier, and they met "as Greek met Greek." The conflict was fierce, and the French victorious. The Indian allies, finding a scalp of a chief underneath an officer's jacket, were furious, and took one hundred and fourteen scalps in return. When the French returned, they supposed that Captain Rogers was among the killed.

At Quebec, when Montcalm and Wolfe fell, there were Ojibways present assisting the French

The Indians, returning from the expeditions against the English, were attacked with smallpox, and many died at Mackinaw.

On the eighth of September, 1760, the French delivered up all their posts in Canada. A few days after the capitulation at Montreal, Major Rogers was sent with English troops, to garrison the posts of the distant Northwest.

On the eighth of September, 1761, a year after the surrender, Captain Balfour, of the eightieth regiment of the British army, left Detroit, with a detachment to take possession of the French forts at Mackinaw and Green Bay. Twenty-five soldiers were left at Mackinaw, in command of Lieutenant Leslie, and the rest sailed to Green Bay, under Lieutenant Gorrell of the Royal

Americans, where they arrived on the twelfth of October. The fort had been abandoned for several years, and was in a dilapidated condition. In charge of it there was left a lieutenant, a corporal, and fifteen soldiers. Two English traders arrived at the same time, McKay from Albany, and Goddard from Montreal.

Gorrell in his journal alludes to the Minnesota Sioux. He writes—

"On March 1, 1763, twelve warriors of the Sous came here. It is certainly the greatest nation of Indians ever yet found. Not above two thousand of them were ever armed with firearms; the rest depending entirely on bows and arrows, which they use with more skill than any other Indian nation in America. They can shoot the wildest and largest beasts in the woods at seventy or one hundred yards distant. They are remarkable for their dancing, and the other nations take the fashions from them. * * * * * This nation is always at war with the Chippewas, those who destroyed Mishamakinak. They told me with warmth that if ever the Chippewas or any other Indians wished to obstruct the passage of the traders coming up, to send them word, and they would come and cut them off from the face of the earth; as all Indians were their slaves or dogs. I told them I was glad to see them, and hoped to have a lasting peace with them. They then gave me a letter wrote in French, and two belts of wampum from their king, in which he expressed great joy on hearing of there being English at his post. The letter was written by a French trader whom I had allowed to go among them last fall, with a promise of his behaving well; which he did, better than any Canadian I ever knew. * * * * * With regard to traders, I would not allow any to go amongst them, as I then understood they lay out of the government of Canada, but made no doubt they would have traders from the Mississippi in the spring. They went away extremely well pleased. June 14th, 1763, the traders came down from the Sack country, and confirmed the news of Landsing and his son being killed by the French. There came with the traders some Puans, and four young men with one chief of the Avoy [Ioway] nation, to demand traders. * * * * *

"On the nineteenth, a deputation of Winnebagoes, Sacs, Foxes and Menominees arrived with a Frenchman named Pennensha. This Pennensha is the same man who wrote the letter the Sous brought with them in French, and at the same time held council with that great nation in favour of the English, by which he much promoted the interest of the latter, as appeared by the behaviour of the Sous. He brought with him a pipe from the Sous, desiring that as the road is now clear, they would by no means allow the Chippewas to obstruct it, or give the English any disturbance, or prevent the traders from coming up to them. If they did so they would send all their warriors and cut them off."

In July, 1763, there arrived at Green Bay, Bruce, Fisher; and Roseboom of Albany, to engage in the Indian trade.

By the treaty of Paris of 1763, France ceded to Great Britain all of the country east of the Mississippi, and to Spain the whole of Louisiana, so that the latter power for a time held the whole region between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean, and that portion of the city of Minneapolis known as the East Division was then governed by the British, while the West Division was subject to the Spanish code.

CHAPTER XI.

JONATHAN CARVER, THE FIRST BRITISH TRAVELER AT FALLS OF SAINT ANTHONY.

Carver's Early Life.—In the Battle near Lake George.—Arrives at Mackinaw.—Old Fort at Green Bay.—Winnebago Village.—Description of Prairie du Chien. Earthworks on Banks of Lake Pepin.—Sioux Bands Described.—Cave and Burial Place in Suburbs of St. Paul.—The Falls of Saint Anthony.—Burial Rites of the Sioux.—Speech of a Sioux Chief.—Schiller's Poem of the Death Song.—Sir John Herschel's Translation.—Sir E. Bulwer Lytton's Version.—Correspondence of Sir William Johnson.—Carver's Project for Opening a Route to the Pacific.—Supposed Origin of the Sioux.—Carver's Claim to Lands Examined.—Alleged Deed.—Testimony of Rev. Samuel Peters.—Communication from Gen. Leavenworth.—Report of U. S. Senate Committee.

Jonathan Carver was a native of Connecticut His grandfather, William Carver, was a native of Wigan, Lancashire, England, and a captain in King William's army during the campaign in Ireland, and for meritorious services received an appointment as an officer of the colony of Connecticut.

His father was a justice of the peace in the new world, and in 1732, the subject of this sketch was born. At the early age of fifteen he was called to mourn the death of his father. He then commenced the study of medicine, but his roving disposition could not bear the confines of a doctor's office, and feeling, perhaps, that his genius would be cramped by pestle and mortar, at the age of eighteen he purchased an ensign's commission in one of the regiments raised during the French war. He was of medium stature, and of strong mind and quick perceptions.

In the year 1757, he was captain under Colonel Williams in the battle near Lake George, where Saint Pierre was killed, and narrowly escaped with his life.

After the peace of 1763, between France and England was declared, Carver conceived the project of exploring the Northwest. Leaving Boston in the month of June, 1766, he arrived at Mackinaw, then the most distant British post, in the month of August. Having obtained a credit on some French and English traders from Major Rogers, the officer in command, he started with them on the third day of September. Pursuing the usual route to Green Bay, they arrived there on the eighteenth.

The French fort at that time was standing, though much decayed. It was, some years previous to his arrival, garrisoned for a short time by an officer and thirty English soldiers, but they having been captured by the Menominees, it was abandoned.

In company with the traders, he left Green Bay on the twentieth, and ascending Fox river, arrived on the twenty-fifth at an island at the east end of Lake Winnebago, containing about fifty acres.

Here he found a Winnebago village of fifty houses. He asserts that a woman was in authority. In the month of October the party was at the portage of the Wisconsin, and descending that stream, they arrived, on the ninth at a town of the Sauks. While here he visited some lead mines about fifteen miles distant. An abundance of lead was also seen in the village, that had been brought from the mines.

On the tenth they arrived at the first village of the "Ottigaumies" [Foxes] about five miles before the Wisconsin joins the Mississippi, he perceived the remnants of another village, and learned that it had been deserted about thirty years before, and that the inhabitants soon after their removal, built a town on the Mississippi, near the mouth of the "Ouisconsin," at a place called by the French La Prairie les Chiens, which signified the Dog Plains. It was a large town, and contained about three hundred families. The houses were built after the Indian manner, and pleasantly situated on a dry rich soil.

He saw here many houses of a good size and shape. This town was the great mart where all the adjacent tribes, and where those who inhabit the most remote branches of the Mississippi, annually assemble about the latter end of May, bringing with them their furs to dispose of to the traders. But it is not always that they conclude their sale here. This was determined by a gen

eral council of the chiefs, who consulted whether it would be more conducive to their interest to sell their goods at this place, or to carry them on to Louisiana or Mackinaw.

At a small stream called Yellow River, opposite Prairie du Chien, the traders who had thus far accompanied Carver took up their residence for the winter.

From this point he proceeded in a canoe, with a Canadian voyageur and a Mohawk Indian as companions. Just before reaching Lake Pepin, while his attendants were one day preparing dinner, he walked out and was struck with the peculiar appearance of the surface of the country, and thought it was the site of some vast artificial earth-work. It is a fact worthy of remembrance, that he was the first to call the attention of the civilized world to the existence of ancient monuments in the Mississippi valley. We give his own description:

"On the first of November I reached Lake Pepin, a few miles below which I landed, and, whilst the servants were preparing my dinner, I ascended the bank to view the country. I had not proceeded far before I came to a fine, level, open plain, on which I perceived, at a little distance, a partial elevation that had the appearance of entrenchment. On a nearer inspection I had greater reason to suppose that it had really been intended for this many centuries ago. Notwithstanding it was now covered with grass, I could plainly see that it had once been a breastwork of about four feet in height, extending the best part of a mile, and sufficiently capacious to cover five thousand men. Its form was somewhat circular and its flanks reached to the river.

"Though much defaced by time, every angle was distinguishable, and appeared as regular and fashioned with as much military skill as if planned by Vauban himself. The ditch was not visible, but I thought, on examining more curiously, that I could perceive there certainly had been one. From its situation, also, I am convinced that it must have been designed for that purpose. It fronted the country, and the rear was covered by the river, nor was there any rising ground for a considerable way that commanded it; a few straggling lakes were alone to be seen near it. In many places small tracks were worn across it by the feet of the elks or deer, and from the depth of the bed of earth by which it was covered, I was able to draw certain conclusions of its great antiquity. I examined all the angles, and every part with great attention, and have often blamed myself since, for not encamping on the spot, and drawing an exact plan of it. To show that this description is not the offspring of a heated imagination, or the chimerical tale of a mistaken traveler, I find, on inquiry since my return, that Mons. St. Pierre, and several traders have at different times, taken notice of similar appearances, upon which they have formed the same conjectures, but without examining them so minutely as I did. How a work of this kind could exist in a country that has hitherto (according to the generally received opinion) been the seat of war to untutored Indians alone, whose whole stock of military knowledge has only, till within two centuries, amounted to drawing the bow, and whose only breastwork even at present is the thicket, I know not. I have given as exact an account as possible of this singular appearance, and leave to future explorers of those distant regions, to discover whether it is a production of nature or art. Perhaps the hints I have here given might lead to a more perfect investigation of it, and give us very different ideas of the ancient state of realms that we at present believe to have been, from the earliest period, only the habitations of savages."

Lake Pepin excited his admiration, as it has that of every traveler since his day, and here he remarks: "I observed the ruins of a French factory, where it is said Captain St. Pierre resided, and carried on a very great trade with the Naudowessies, before the reduction of Canada."

Carver's first acquaintance with the Dahkotahs commenced near the river St. Croix. It would seem that the erection of trading posts on Lake Pepin had enticed them from their old residence on Rum river and Mille Lacs.

He says: "Near the river St. Croix reside bands of the Naudowessie Indians, called the River Bands. This nation is composed at present of eleven bands. They were originally twelve, but the Assinipoils, some years ago, revolting and separating themselves from the others, there remain at this time eleven. Those I met here are termed the River Bands, because they chiefly dwell near the banks of this river; the other eight are generally distinguished by the

title of Nadowessies of the Plains, and inhabit a country more to the westward. The names of the former are Nehogatawonahs, the Mawtaw-bauntowahs, and Shashweentowahs.

Arriving at what is now a suburb of the capital of Minnesota, he continues: "About thirteen miles below the Falls of St. Anthony, at which I arrived the tenth day after I left Lake Pepin, is a remarkable cave, of an amazing depth. The Indians term it Wakon-teebe [Wakan-tipi]. The entrance into it is about ten feet wide, the height of it five feet. The arch within is fifteen feet high and about thirty feet broad; the bottom consists of fine, clear sand. About thirty feet from the entrance begins a lake, the water of which is transparent, and extends to an unsearchable distance, for the darkness of the cave prevents all attempts to acquire a knowledge of it.] I threw a small pebble towards the nterior part of it with my utmost strength. I could hear that it fell into the water, and, notwithstanding it was of a small size, it caused an astonishing and terrible noise, that reverberated through all those gloomy regions. I found in this cave many Indian hieroglyphics, which appeared very ancient, for time had nearly covered them with moss, so that it was with difficulty I could trace them. They were cut in a rude manner upon the inside of the wall, which was composed of a stone so extremely soft that it might be easily penetrated with a knife; a stone everywhere to be found near the Mississippi.

"At a little distance from this dreary cavern, is the burying-place of several bands of the Naudowessie Indians. Though these people have no fixed residence, being in tents, and seldom but a few months in one spot, yet they always bring the bones of the dead to this place.

"Ten miles below the Falls of St. Anthony, the river St. Pierre, called by the natives Wadapaw Menesotor, falls into the Mississippi from the west. It is not mentioned by Father Hennepin, though a large, fair river. This omission, I consider, must have proceeded from a small island [Pike's] that is situated exactly in its entrance."

When he reached the Minnesota river, the ice became so troublesome that he left his canoe in the neighborhood of what is now St. Anthony, and walked to St. Anthony, in company with a young Winnebago chief, who had never seen the curling waters. The chief, on reaching the eminence some distance below Cheever's, began to invoke his gods, and offer oblations to the spirit in the waters.

"In the middle of the Falls stands a small island, about *forty feet* broad and somewhat longer, on which grow a few cragged hemlock and spruce trees, and about half way between this island and the eastern shore is a rock, lying at the very edge of the Falls, in an oblique position, that appeared to be about five or six feet broad, and thirty or forty long. At a little distance below the Falls stands a small island of about an acre and a half, on which grow a great number of oak trees."

From this description, it would appear that the little island, now some distance below the Falls, was once in the very midst, and shows that a constant recession has been going on, and that in ages long past they were not far from the Minnesota river.

No description is more glowing than Carver's of the country adjacent:

"The country around them is extremely beautiful. It is not an uninterrupted plain, where the eye finds no relief, but composed of many gentle ascents, which in the summer are covered with the finest verdure, and interspersed with little groves that give a pleasing variety to the prospect. On the whole, when the Falls are included, which may be seen at a distance of four miles, a more pleasing and picturesque view, I believe, cannot be found throughout the universe."

"He arrived at the Falls on the seventeenth of November, 1766, and appears to have ascended as far as Elk river.

On the twenty-fifth of November, he had returned to the place opposite the Minnesota, where he had left his canoe, and this stream as yet not being obstructed with ice, he commenced its ascent, with the colors of Great Britain flying at the stern of his canoe. There is no doubt that he entered this river, but how far he explored it cannot be ascertained. He speaks of the Rapids near Shakopay, and asserts that he went as far as two hundred miles beyond Mendota. He remarks:

"On the seventh of December, I arrived at the utmost of my travels towards the West, where I

met a large party of the Naudowessie Indians, among whom I resided some months."

After speaking of the upper bands of the Dahkotahs and their allies, he adds that he "left the habitations of the hospitable Indians the latter end of April, 1767, but did not part from them for several days, as I was accompanied on my journey by near three hundred of them to the mouth of the river St. Pierre. At this season these hands annually go to the great cave (Dayton's Bluff) before mentioned.

When he arrived at the great cave, and the Indians had deposited the remains of their deceased friends in the burial-place that stands adjacent to it, they held their great council to which he was admitted.

When the Naudowessies brought their dead for interment to the great cave (St. Paul), I attempted to get an insight into the remaining burial rites, but whether it was on account of the stench which arose from so many dead bodies, or whether they chose to keep this part of their custom secret from me, I could not discover. I found, however, that they considered my curiosity as ill-timed, and therefore I withdrew. * *

One formality among the Naudowessies in mourning for the dead is very different from any mode I observed in the other nations through which I passed. The men, to show how great their sorrow is, pierce the flesh of their arms above the elbows with arrows, and the women cut and gash their legs with broken flints till the blood flows very plentifully. * *

After the breath is departed, the body is dressed in the same attire it usually wore, his face is painted, and he is seated in an erect posture on a mat or skin, placed in the middle of the hut, with his weapons by his side. His relatives seated around, each in turn harangues the deceased; and if he has been a great warrior, recounts his heroic actions, nearly to the following purport, which in the Indian language is extremely poetical and pleasing

"You still sit among us, brother, your person retains its usual resemblance, and continues similar to ours, without any visible deficiency, except it has lost the power of action! But whither is that breath flown, which a few hours ago sent up smoke to the Great Spirit? Why are those lips silent, that lately delivered to us expressions and pleasing language? Why are those feet motionless, that a few hours ago were fleeter than the deer on yonder mountains? Why useless hang those arms, that could climb the tallest tree or draw the toughest bow? Alas, every part of that frame which we lately beheld with admiration and wonder has now become as inanimate as it was three hundred years ago! We will not, however, bemoan thee as if thou wast forever lost to us, or that thy name would be buried in oblivion; thy soul yet lives in the great country of spirits, with those of thy nation that have gone before thee; and though we are left behind to perpetuate thy fame, we will one day join thee.

"Actuated by the respect we bore thee whilst living, we now come to tender thee the last act of kindness in our power; that thy body might not lie neglected on the plain, and become a prey to the beasts of the field or fowls of the air, and we will take care to lay it with those of thy predecessors that have gone before thee; hoping at the same time that thy spirit will feed with their spirits, and be ready to receive ours when we shall also arrive at the great country of souls."

For this speech Carver is principally indebted to his imagination, but it is well conceived, and suggested one of Schiller's poems, which Goethe considered one of his best, and wished "he had made a dozen such."

Sir E. Lytton Bulwer the distinguished novelist, and Sir John Herschel the eminent astronomer, have each given a translation of Schiller's "Song of the Nadowessee Chief."

SIR E. L. BULWER'S TRANSLATION.

See on his mat—as if of yore,
All life-like sits he here!
With that same aspect which he wore
When light to him was dear

But where the right hand's strength? and where
The breath that loved to breathe
To the Great Spirit, aloft in air,
The peace pipe's lusty wreath?

And where the hawk-like eye, alas!
That wont the deer pursue,
Along the waves of rippling grass,
Or fields that shone with dew?

Are these the limber, bounding feet
That swept the winter's snows?
What stateliest stag so fast and fleet?
Their speed outstripped the roe's!

These arms, that then the steady bow
Could supple from it's pride,
How stark and helpless hang they now
Adown the stiffened side!

Yet weal to him—at peace he stays
Wherever fall the snows;
Where o'er the meadows springs the maize
That mortal never sows.

Where birds are blithe on every brake—
Where orests teem with deer—
Where glide the fish through every lake—
One chase from year to year!

With spirits now he feasts above;
All left us to revere
The deeds we honor with our love,
The dust we bury here.

Here bring the last gift; loud and shrill
Wail death dirge for the brave;
What pleased him most in life, may still
Give pleasure in the grave.

We lay the axe beneath his head
He swung when strength was strong—
The bear on which his banquets fed,
The way from earth is long.

And here, new sharpened, place the knife
That severed from the clay,
From which the axe had spoiled the life,
The conquered scalp away.

The paints that deck the dead, bestow;
Yes, place them in his hand,
That red the kingly shade may glow
Amid the spirit land.

SIR JOHN HERSCHEL'S TRANSLATION.

See, where upon the mat he sits
Erect, before his door,
With just the same majestic air
That once in life he wore.

But where is fled his strength of limb,
The whirlwind of his breath,
To the Great Spirit, when he sent
The peace pipe's mounting wreath?

Where are those falcon eyes, which late
Along the plain could trace,
Along the grass's dewy waves
The reindeer's printed pace?

Those legs, which once with matchless speed,
Flew through the drifted snow,
Surpassed the stag's unwearied course,
Outran the mountain roe?

Those arms, once used with might and main,
The stubborn bow to twang?
See, see, their nerves are slack at last,
All motionless they hang.

'Tis well with him, for he is gone
Where snow no more is found,
Where the gay thorn's perpetual bloom
Decks all the field around.

Where wild birds sing from every spray,
Where deer come sweeping by,
Where fish from every lake afford
A plentiful supply.

With spirits now he feasts above,
And leaves us here alone,
To celebrate his valiant deeds,
And round his grave to moan.

Sound the death song, bring forth the gifts,
The last gifts of the dead,—
Let all which yet may yield him joy
Within his grave be laid.

The hatchet place beneath his head
Still red with hostile blood;
And add, because the way is long,
The bear's fat limbs for food.

The scalping-knife beside him lay,
With paints of gorgeous dye,
That in the land of souls his form
May shine triumphantly.

It appears from other sources that Carver's visit to the Dahkotahs was of some effect in bringing about friendly intercourse between them and the commander of the English force at Mackinaw.

The earliest mention of the Dahkotas, in any public British documents that we know of, is in the correspondence between Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Colony of New York, and General Gage, in command of the forces.

On the eleventh of September, less than six months after Carver's speech at Dayton's Bluff, and the departure of a number of chiefs to the English fort at Mackinaw, Johnson writes to General Gage: "Though I wrote to you some days ago, yet I would not mind saying something again on the score of the vast expenses incurred, and, as I understand, still incurring at Michilimackinac, chiefly on pretence of making a peace between the Sioux and Chippeweighs, with which I think we have very little to do, in good policy or otherwise."

Sir William Johnson, in a letter to Lord Hillsborough, one of his Majesty's ministers, dated August seventeenth, 1768, again refers to the subject:

"Much greater part of those who go a trading are men of such circumstances and disposition as to venture their persons everywhere for extravagant gains, yet the consequences to the public are not to be slighted, as we may be led into a general quarrel through their means. The Indians in the part adjacent to Michilimackinac have been treated with at a very great expense for some time previous.

"Major Rodgers brings a considerable charge against the former for mediating a peace between some tribes of the Sioux and some of the Chippeweighs, which, had it been attended with success, would only have been interesting to a very few French, and others, that had goods in that part of the Indian country, but the contrary has happened, and they are now more violent, and war against one another."

Though a wilderness of over one thousand miles intervened between the Falls of St. Anthony and the white settlements of the English, Carver was fully impressed with the idea that the State now organized under the name of Minnesota, on account of its beauty and fertility, would attract settlers.

Speaking of the advantages of the country, he says that the future population will be "able to convey their produce to the seaports with great facility, the current of the river from its source to its entrance into the Gulf of Mexico being extremely favourable for doing this in small craft *This might also in time be facilitated by canals or shorter cuts, and a communication opened by water with New York by way of the Lakes.*"

The subject of this sketch was also confident that a route would be discovered by way of the Minnesota river, which "would open a passage to China and the English settlements in the East Indies."

Carver, having returned to England, interested Whitworth, a member of parliament, in the northern route. Had not the American Revolution commenced, they proposed to have built a fort at Lake Pepin, to have proceeded up the Minnesota until they found, as they supposed they could, a branch of the Missouri, and from thence, journeying over the summit of lands until they came to a river which they called Oregon, they expected to descend to the Pacific.

Carver, in common with other travelers, had his theory in relation to the origin of the Dahkotahs. He supposed that they came from Asia. He remarks: "But this might have been at different times and from various parts—from Tartary, China, Japan, for the inhabitants of these places resemble each other. * * *

"It is very evident that some of the names and customs of the American Indians resemble those of the Tartars, and I make no doubt but that in some future era, and this not far distant, it will be reduced to certainty that during some of the wars between the Tartars and Chinese a part of the inhabitants of the northern provinces were driven from their native country, and took refuge in some of the isles before mentioned, and from thence found their way into America. * * *

"Many words are used both by the Chinese and the Indians which have a resemblance to each other, not only in their sound, but in their signification. The Chinese call a slave Shungo; and the Naudowessie Indians, whose language, from their little intercourse with the Europeans, is least corrupted, term a dog Shungush [Shoankah]. The former denominate one species of their tea Shoushong; the latter call their tobacco Shousas-sau [Chanshasha]. Many other of the words used by the Indians contain the syllables *che*, *chaw*, and *chu*, after the dialect of the Chinese."

The comparison of languages has become a rich source of historical knowledge, yet many of the analogies traced are fanciful. The remark of Humbolt in "Cosmos" is worthy of remembrance. "As the structure of American idioms appears remarkably strange to nations speaking the modern languages of Western Europe, and who readily suffer themselves to be led away by some accidental analogies of sound, theologians have generally believed that they could trace an affinity with the Hebrew, Spanish colonists with the Basque and the English, or French settlers with Gaelic, Erse, or the Bas Breton. I one day met on the coast of Peru, a Spanish naval officer and an English whaling captain, the former of whom declared that he had heard Basque spoken at Tahiti; the other, Gaelic or Erse at the Sandwich Islands."

Carver became very poor while in England, and was a clerk in a lottery-office. He died in 1780, and left a widow, two sons, and five daughters, in New England, and also a child by another wife that he had married in Great Britain

After his death a claim was urged for the land upon which the capital of Minnesota now stands, and for many miles adjacent. As there are still many persons who believe that they have some right through certain deeds purporting to be from the heirs of Carver, it is a matter worthy of an investigation.

Carver says nothing in his book of travels in relation to a grant from the Dahkotahs, but after he was buried, it was asserted that there was a deed belonging to him in existence, conveying valuable lands, and that said deed was executed at the cave now in the eastern suburbs of Saint Paul.

DEED PURPORTING TO HAVE BEEN GIVEN AT THE CAVE IN THE BLUFF BELOW ST. PAUL.

"To Jonathan Carver, a chief under the most mighty and potent George the Third, King of the English and other nations, the fame of whose warriors has reached our ears, and has now been fully told us by our *good brother Jonathan*, aforesaid, whom we rejoice to have come among us, and bring us good news from his country.

"We, chiefs of the Naudowessies, who have hereunto set our seals, do by these presents, for ourselves and heirs forever, in return for the aid and other good services done by the said Jonathan to ourselves and allies, give grant and convey to him, the said Jonathan, and to his heirs and assigns forever, the whole of a certain tract or territory of land, bounded as follows, viz: from the Falls of St. Anthony, running on the east bank of the Mississippi, nearly southeast, as far as Lake Pepin, where the Chippewa joins the Mississippi, and from thence eastward five days travel, accounting twenty English miles per day; and from thence again to the Falls of St. Anthony, on a direct straight line. We do for ourselves, heirs, and assigns, forever give unto the said Jonathan, his heirs and assigns, with all the trees, rocks, and rivers therein, reserving the sole liberty of hunting and fishing on land not planted or improved by the said Jonathan, his heirs and assigns, to which we have affixed our respective seals.

"At the Great Cave, May 1st, 1767.

"Signed, HAWNOPAWJATIN.
OTOHTGNGOOMLISHEAW."

The original deed was never exhibited by the assignees of the heirs. By his English wife Carver had one child, a daughter Martha, who was cared for by Sir Richard and Lady Pearson. In time she eloped and married a sailor. A mercantile firm in London, thinking that money could be made, induced the newly married couple, the day after the wedding, to convey the grant to them, with the understanding that they were to have a tenth of the profits.

The merchants despatched an agent by the name of Clarke to go to the Dahkotahs, and obtain a new deed; but on his way he was murdered in the state of New York.

In the year 1794, the heirs of Carver's American wife, in consideration of fifty thousand pounds sterling, conveyed their interest in the Carver grant to Edward Houghton of Vermont. In the year 1806, Samuel Peters, who had been a tory and an Episcopal minister during the Revolutionary war, alleges, in a petition to Congress, that he had also purchased of the heirs of Carver their rights to the grant.

Before the Senate committee, the same year, he testified as follows:

"In the year 1774, I arrived there (London), and met Captain Carver. In 1775, Carver had a hearing before the king, praying his majesty's approval of a deed of land dated May first, 1767,

and sold and granted to him by the Naudowissies. The result was his majesty approved of the exertions and bravery of Captain Carver among the Indian nations, near the Falls of St. Anthony, in the Mississippi, gave to said Carver 1371*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* sterling, and ordered a frigate to be prepared, and a transport ship to carry one hundred and fifty men, under command of Captain Carver, with four others as a committee, to sail the next June to New Orleans, and then to ascend the Mississippi, to take possession of said territory conveyed to Captain Carver; but the battle of Bunker Hill prevented."

In 1821, General Leavenworth, having made inquiries of the Dahkotahs, in relation to the alleged claim, addressed the following to the commissioner of the land office:

"Sir:—Agreeably to your request, I have the honour to inform you what I have understood from the Indians of the Sioux Nation, as well as some facts within my own knowledge, as to what is commonly termed Carver's Grant. The grant purports to be made by the chiefs of the Sioux of the Plains, and one of the chiefs uses the sign of a serpent, and the other of a turtle, purporting that their names are derived from those animals.

"The land lies on the east side of the Mississippi. The Indians do not recognize or acknowledge the grant to be valid, and they among others assign the following reasons:

"1. The Sioux of the Plains never owned a foot of land on the east side of the Mississippi. The Sioux Nation is divided into two grand divisions, viz: The Sioux of the Lake; or perhaps more literally Sioux of the River, and Sioux of the Plain. The former subsists by hunting and fishing, and usually move from place to place by water, in canoes, during the summer season, and travel on the ice in the winter, when not on their hunting excursions. The latter subsist entirely by hunting, and have no canoes, nor do they know but little about the use of them. They reside in the large prairies west of the Mississippi, and follow the buffalo, upon which they entirely subsist; these are called Sioux of the Plain, and never owned land east of the Mississippi.

"2. The Indians say they have no knowledge of any such chiefs as those who have signed the grant to Carver, either amongst the Sioux of the River or the Sioux of the Plain. They say that if Captain Carver did ever obtain a deed or grant, it was signed by some foolish young men who were not chiefs and who were not authorized to make a grant. Among the Sioux of the River there are no such names.

"3. They say the Indians never received anything for the land, and they have no intention to part with it without a consideration. From my knowledge of the Indians, I am induced to think they would not make so considerable a grant, and have it to go into full effect without receiving a substantial consideration.

"4. They have, and ever have had, the possession of the land, and intend to keep it. I know that they are very particular in making every person who wishes to cut timber on that tract obtain their permission to do so, and to obtain payment for it. In the month of May last, some Frenchmen brought a large raft of red cedar timber out of the Chippewa River, which timber was cut on the tract before mentioned. The Indians at one of the villages on the Mississippi, where the principal chief resided, compelled the Frenchmen to land the raft, and would not permit them to pass until they had received pay for the timber, and the Frenchmen were compelled to leave their raft with the Indians until they went to Prairie du Chien, and obtained the necessary articles, and made the payment required."

On the twenty-third of January, 1823, the Committee of Public Lands made a report on the claim to the Senate, which, to every disinterested person, is entirely satisfactory. After stating the facts of the petition, the report continues:

"The Rev. Samuel Peters, in his petition, further states that Lefei, the present Emperor of the Sioux and Naudowessies, and Red Wing, a sachem, the heirs and successors of the two grand chiefs who signed the said deed to Captain Carver, have given satisfactory and positive proof that they allowed their ancestors' deed to be genuine, good, and valid, and that Captain Carver's heirs and assigns are the owners of said territory, and may occupy it free of all molestation.

The committee have examined and considered the claims thus exhibited by the petitioners, and remark that the original deed is not produced, nor any competent legal evidence offered of its execution; nor is there any proof that the persons, who

it is alleged made the deed, were the chiefs of said tribe, nor that (if chiefs) they had authority to grant and give away the land belonging to their tribe. The paper annexed to the petition, as a copy of said deed, has no subscribing witnesses; and it would seem impossible, at this remote period, to ascertain the important fact, that the persons who signed the deed comprehended and understood the meaning and effect of their act.

"The want of proof as to these facts, would interpose in the way of the claimants insuperable difficulties. But, in the opinion of the committee, the claim is not such as the United States are under any obligation to allow, even if the deed were proved in legal form.

"The British government, before the time when the alleged deed bears date, had deemed it prudent and necessary for the preservation of peace with the Indian tribes under their sovereignty, protection and dominion, to prevent British subjects from purchasing lands from the Indians, and this rule of policy was made known and enforced by the proclamation of the king of Great Britain, of seventh October, 1763, which contains an express prohibition.

"Captain Carver, aware of the law, and knowing that such a contract could not vest the legal title in him, applied to the British government to ratify and confirm the Indian grant, and, though it was competent for that government then to confirm the grant, and vest the title of said land in him, yet, from some cause, that government did not think proper to do it.

"The territory has since become the property of the United States, and an Indian grant not good against the British government, would appear to be not binding upon the United States government.

"What benefit the British government derived from the services of Captain Carver, by his travels and residence among the Indians, that government alone could determine, and alone could judge what remuneration those services deserved.

"One fact appears from the declaration of Mr. Peters, in his statement in writing, among the papers exhibited, namely, that the British government did give Captain Carver the sum of one thousand three hundred and seventy-five pounds six shillings and eight pence sterling. To the United States, however, Captain Carver rendered no services which could be assumed as any equitable ground for the support of the petitioners' claim.

"The committee being of opinion that the United States are not bound in law and equity to confirm the said alleged Indian grant, recommend the adoption of the resolution:

"'*Resolved*, That the prayer of the petitioners ought not to be granted.'"

Lord Palmerston stated in 1839, that no trace could be found in the records of the British office of state papers, showing any ratification of the Carver grant.

CHAPTER XII.

EXPLORATION BY THE FIRST UNITED STATES ARMY OFFICER, LIEUTENANT Z. M. PIKE.

Trading Posts at the beginning of Nineteenth Century.—Sandy Lake Fort.—Leech Lake Fort.—William Morrison, before Schoolcraft at Itasca Lake.—Division of Northwest Territory.—Organization of Indiana, Michigan and Upper Louisiana.—Notices of Wood, Frazer, Fisher, Cameron, Faribault.—Early Traders.—Pike's Council at Mouth of Minnesota River.—Grant for Military Posts.—Encampment at Falls of St. Anthony.—Block House near Swan River.—Visit to Sandy and Leech Lakes.—British Flag Shot at and Lowered.—Thompson, Topographer of Northwest Company.—Pike at Dickson's Trading Post.—Returns to Mendota.—Fails to find Carver's Cave.—Conference with Little Crow.—Cameron sells Liquor to Indians.

At the beginning of the present century, the region now known as Minnesota, contained no white men, except a few engaged in the fur trade. In the treaty effected by Hon. John Jay, Great Britain agreed to withdraw her troops from all posts and places within certain boundary lines, on or before the first of June, 1796, but all British settlers and traders might remain for one year, and enjoy all their former privileges, without being obliged to be citizens of the United States of America.

In the year 1800, the trading posts of Minnesota were chiefly held by the Northwest Company, and their chief traders resided at Sandy Lake, Leech Lake, and Fon du Lac, on St. Louis River. In the year 1794, this company built a stockade one hundred feet square, on the southeast end of Sandy Lake. There were bastions pierced for small arms, in the southeast and in the northwest corner. The pickets which surrounded the post were thirteen feet high. On the north side there was a gate ten by nine feet; on the west side, one six by five feet, and on the east side a third gate six by five feet. Travelers entering the main gate, saw on the left a one story building twenty feet square, the residence of the superintendent, and on the left of the east gate, a building twenty-five by fifteen, the quarters of the voyageurs. Entering the western gate, on the left was a stone house, twenty by thirty feet, and a house twenty by forty feet, used as a store, and a workshop, and a residence for clerks. On the south shore of Leech Lake there was another establishment, a little larger. The stockade was one hundred and fifty feet square. The main building was sixty by twenty-five feet, and one and a half story in height, where resided the Director of the fur trade of the Fond du Lac department of the Northwest Company. In the centre was a small store, twelve and a half feet square, and near the main gate was flagstaff fifty feet in height, from which used to float the flag of Great Britain.

William Morrison was, in 1802, the trader at Leech Lake, and in 1804 he was at Elk Lake, the source of the Mississippi, thirty-two years afterwards named by Schoolcraft, Lake Itasca.

The entire force of the Northwest Company, west of Lake Superior, in 1805, consisted of three accountants, nineteen clerks, two interpreters, eighty-five canoe men, and with them were twenty-nine Indian or half-breed women, and about fifty children.

On the seventh of May, 1800, the Northwest Territory, which included all of the western country east of the Mississippi, was divided. The portion not designated as Ohio, was organized as the Territory of Indiana.

On the twentieth of December, 1803, the province of Louisiana, of which that portion of Minnesota west of the Mississippi was a part, was officially delivered up by the French, who had just obtained it from the Spaniards, according to treaty stipulations.

To the transfer of Louisiana by France, after twenty days' possession, Spain at first objected; but in 1804 withdrew all opposition.

President Jefferson now deemed it an object of paramount importance for the United States to explore the country so recently acquired, and make the acquaintance of the tribes residing therein; and steps were taken for an expedition to the upper Mississippi.

Early in March, 1804, Captain Stoddard, of the United States army, arrived at St. Louis, the agent of the French Republic, to receive from

the Spanish authorities the possession of the country, which he immediately transferred to the United States.

As the old settlers, on the tenth of March, saw the ancient flag of Spain displaced by that of the United States, the tears coursed down their cheeks.

On the twentieth of the same month, the territory of Upper Louisiana was constituted, comprising the present states of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, and a large portion of Minnesota.

On the eleventh of January, 1805, the territory of Michigan was organized.

The first American officer who visited Minnesota, on business of a public nature, was one who was an ornament to his profession, and in energy and endurance a true representative of the citizens of the United States. We refer to the gallant Zebulon Montgomery Pike, a native of New Jersey, who afterwards fell in battle at York, Upper Canada, and whose loss was justly mourned by the whole nation.

When a young lieutenant, he was ordered by General Wilkinson to visit the region now known as Minnesota, and expel the British traders who were found violating the laws of the United States, and form alliances with the Indians. With only a few common soldiers, he was obliged to do the work of several men. At times he would precede his party for miles to reconnoitre, and then he would do the duty of hunter.

During the day he would perform the part of surveyor, geologist, and astronomer, and at night, though hungry and fatigued, his lofty enthusiasm kept him awake until he copied the notes, and plotted the courses of the day.

On the 4th day of September, 1805, Pike arrived at Prairie du Chien, from St. Louis, and was politely treated by three traders, all born under the flag of the United States. One was named Wood, another Frazer, a native of Vermont, who, when a young man became a clerk of one Blakely, of Montreal, and thus became a fur trader. The third was Henry Fisher, a captain of the Militia, and Justice of the Peace, whose wife was a daughter of Goutier de Verville. Fisher was said to have been a nephew of President Monroe, and later in life traded at the sources of the Minnesota. One of his daughters was the mother of Joseph Rolette, Jr., a member of the early Minnesota Legislative assemblies. On the eighth of the month Lieutenant Pike left Prairie du Chien, in two batteaux, with Sergeant Henry Kennerman, Corporals William E. Mack and Samuel Bradley, and ten privates.

At La Crosse, Frazer, of Prairie du Chien, overtook him, and at Sandy point of Lake Pepin he found a trader, a Scotchman by the name of Murdoch Cameron, with his son, and a young man named John Rudsdell. On the twenty-first he breakfasted with the Kaposia band of Sioux, who then dwelt at the marsh below Dayton's Bluff, a few miles below St. Paul. The same day he passed three miles from Mendota the encampment of J. B. Faribault, a trader and native of Lower Canada, then about thirty years of age, in which vicinity he continued for more than fifty years. He married Pelagie the daughter of Francis Kinnie by an Indian woman, and his eldest son, Alexander, born soon after Pike's visit, was the founder of the town of Faribault.

Arriving at the confluence of the Minnosota and the Mississippi Rivers, Pike and his soldiers encamped on the Northeast point of the island which still bears his name. The next day was Sunday, and he visited Cameron, at his trading post on the Minnesota River, a short distance above Mendota.

On Monday, the 23d of September, at noon, he held a Council with the Sioux, under a covering made by suspending sails, and gave an admirable talk, a portion of which was as follows:

"Brothers, I am happy to meet you here, at this council fire which your father has sent me to kindle, and to take you by the hands, as our children. We having but lately acquired from the Spanish, the extensive territory of Louisiana, our general has thought proper to send out a number of his warriors to visit all his red children; to tell them his will, and to hear what request they may have to make of their father. I am happy the choice fell on me to come this road, as I find my brothers, the Sioux, ready to listen to my words.

"Brothers, it is the wish of our government to establish military posts on the Upper Mississippi, at such places as might be thought expedient. I have, therefore, examined the country, and have pitched on the mouth of the river St. Croix, this

place, and the Falls of St. Anthony; I therefore wish you to grant to the United States, nine miles square, at St. Croix, and at this place, from a league below the confluence of the St. Peter's and Mississippi, to a league above St. Anthony, extending three leagues on each side of the river; and as we are a people who are accustomed to have all our acts written down, in order to have them handed to our children, I have drawn up a form of an agreement, which we will both sign, in the presence of the traders now present. After we know the terms, we will fill it up, and have it read and interpreted to you.

"Brothers, those posts are intended as a benefit to you. The old chiefs now present must see that their situation improves by a communication with the whites. It is the intention of the United States to establish at those posts factories, in which the Indians may procure all their things at a cheaper and better rate than they do now, or than your traders can afford to sell them to you, as they are single men, who come from far in small boats; but your fathers are many and strong, and will come with a strong arm, in large boats. There will also be chiefs here, who can attend to the wants of their brothers, without their sending or going all the way to St. Louis, and will see the traders that go up your rivers, and know that they are good men. * * * *

"Brothers, I now present you with some of your father's tobacco, and some other trifling things, as a memorandum of my good will, and before my departure I will give you some liquor to clear your throats."

The traders, Cameron and Frazer, sat with Pike. His interpreter was Pierre Rosseau. Among the Chiefs present were Le Petit Corbeau (Little Crow), and Way-ago Enagee, and L'Orignal Leve or Rising Moose. It was with difficulty that the chiefs signed the following agreement; not that they objected to the language, but because they thought their word should be taken, without any mark; but Pike overcame their objection, by saying that he wished them to sign it on his account.

"Whereas, at a conference held between the United States of America and the Sioux nation of Indians, Lieutenant Z. M. Pike, of the army of the United States, and the chiefs and warriors of said tribe, have agreed to the following articles, which, when ratified and approved of by the proper authority, shall be binding on both parties:

ART. 1. That the Sioux nation grant unto the United States, for the purpose of establishment of military posts, nine miles square, at the mouth of the St. Croix, also from below the confluence of the Mississippi and St. Peter's, up the Mississippi to include the Falls of St. Anthony, extending nine miles on each side of the river; that the Sioux Nation grants to the United States the full sovereignty and power over said district forever.

ART. 2. That in consideration of the above grants, the United States shall pay [filled up by the Senate with 2,000 dollars].

ART. 3. The United States promise, on their part, to permit the Sioux to pass and repass, hunt, or make other use of the said districts, as they have formerly done, without any other exception than those specified in article first.

In testimony whereof, we, the undersigned, have hereunto set our hands and seals, at the mouth of the river St. Peter's, on the 23d day of September, 1805.

Z. M. PIKE, [L. S.]
1st Lieutenant and agent at the above conference.

his
LE PETIT CORBEAU, ⋈ [L. S.]
mark

his
WAY-AGO ENAGEE, ⋈ [L. S.]
mark"

The following entries from Pike's Journal, descriptive of the region around the city of Minneapolis, seventy-five years ago, are worthy of preservation:

"SEPT. 26th, *Thursday*.—Embarked at the usual hour, and after much labor in passing through the rapids, arrived at the foot of the Falls about three or four o'clock; unloaded my boat, and had the principal part of her cargo carried over the portage. With the other boat, however, full loaded, they were not able to get over the last shoot, and encamped about six yards below. I pitched my tent and encamped above the shoot. The rapids mentioned in this day's march, might properly be called a continuation of the Falls of St. Anthony, for they are equally entitled to this appellation, with the Falls of the Delaware and

Susquehanna. Killed one deer. Distance nine miles

SEPT. 27th, *Friday*. Brought over the residue of my loading this morning. Two men arrived from Mr. Frazer, on St. Peters, for my dispatches. This business, closing and sealing, appeared like a last adieu to the civilized world. Sent a large packet to the General, and a letter to Mrs. Pike, with a short note to Mr. Frazer. Two young Indians brought my flag across by land, who arrived yesterday, just as we came in sight of the Fall. I made them a present for their punctuality and expedition, and the danger they were exposed to from the journey. Carried our boats out of the river, as far as the bottom of the hill.

SEPT. 28th, *Saturday*.—Brought my barge over, and put her in the river above the Falls. While we were engaged with her three-fourths miles from camp, seven Indians painted black, appeared on the heights. We had left our guns at the camp and were entirely defenceless. It occurred to me that they were the small party of Sioux who were obstinate, and would go to war, when the other part of the bands came in; these they proved to be; they were better armed than any I had ever seen; having guns, bows, arrows, clubs, spears, and some of them even a case of pistols. I was at that time giving my men a dram; and giving the cup of liquor to the first, he drank it off; but I was more cautious with the remainder. I sent my interpreter to camp with them, to wait my coming; wishing to purchase one of their war clubs, it being made of elk horn, and decorated with inlaid work. This and a set of bows and arrows I wished to get as a curiosity. But the liquor I had given him began to operate, he came back for me, but refusing to go till I brought my boat, he returned, and (I suppose being offended) borrowed a canoe and crossed the river. In the afternoon got the other boat near the top of the hill, when the props gave way, and she slid all the way down to the bottom, but fortunately without injuring any person. It raining very hard, we left her. Killed one goose and a racoon.

SEPT. 29th, *Sunday*.—I killed a remarkably large racoon. Got our large boat over the portage, and put her in the river, at the upper landing; this night the men gave sufficient proof of their fatigue, by all throwing themselves down to sleep, preferring rest to supper. This day I had but fifteen men out of twenty-two; the others were sick. This voyage could have been performed with great convenience, if we had taken our departure in June. But the proper time would be to leave the Illinois as soon as the ice would permit, when the river would be of a good height.

SEPT. 30th, *Monday*.—Loaded my boat, moved over and encamped on the Island. The large boats loading likewise, we went over and put on board. In the mean time, I took a survey of the Falls, Portage, etc. If it be possible to pass the Falls in high water, of which I am doubtful, it must be on the East side, about thirty yards from shore; as there are three layers of rocks, one below the other. The pitch off of either, is not more than five feet; but of this I can say more on my return.

On the tenth of October, the expedition reached some large island below Sauk Rapids, where in 1797, Porlier and Joseph Renville had wintered. Six days after this, he reached the Rapids in Morrison county, which still bears his name, and he writes: "When we arose in the morning, found that snow had fallen during the night, the ground was covered and it continued to snow. This, indeed, was but poor encouragement for attacking the Rapids, in which we were certain to wade to our necks. I was determined, however, if possible to make la riviere de Corbeau, [Crow Wing River], the highest point was made by traders in their bark canoes. We embarked, and after four hours work, became so benumbed with cold that our limbs were perfectly useless. We put to shore on the opposite side of the river, about two-thirds of the way up the rapids. Built a large fire; and then discovered that our boats were nearly half full of water; both having sprung large leaks so as to oblige me to keep three hands bailing. My sergeant (Kennerman) one of the stoutest men I ever knew, broke a blood-vessel and vomited nearly two quarts of blood. One of my corporals (Bradley) also evacuated nearly a pint of blood, when he attempted to void his urine. These unhappy circumstances, in addition to the inability of four other men whom we were obliged to leave on shore, convinced me, that if I had no regard for my own health and constitution, I should have some for those poor fellows, who were kill-

ing themselves to obey my orders. After we had breakfast and refreshed ourselves, we went down to our boats on the rocks, where I was obliged to leave them. I then informed my men that we would return to the camp and there leave some of the party and our large boats. This information was pleasing, and the attempt to reach the camp soon accomplished. My reasons for this step have partly been already stated. The necessity of unloading and refitting my boats, the beauty and convenience of the spot for building huts, the fine pine trees for peroques, and the quantity of game, were additional inducements. We immediately unloaded our boats and secured their cargoes. In the evening I went out upon a small, but beautiful creek, which emptied into the Falls, for the purpose of selecting pine trees to make canoes. Saw five deer, and killed one buck weighing one hundred and thirty-seven pounds. By my leaving men at this place, and from the great quantities of game in its vicinity, I was ensured plenty of provision for my return voyage. In the party left behind was one hunter, to be continually employed, who would keep our stock of salt provisions good. Distance two hundred and thirty-three and a half miles above the Falls of St. Anthony.

Having left his large boats and some soldiers at this point, he proceeded to the vicinity of Swan River where he erected a block house, and on the thirty-first of October he writes: "Enclosed my little work completely with pickets. Hauled up my two boats and turned them over on each side of the gateways; by which means a defence was made to the river, and had it not been for various political reasons, I would have laughed at the attack of eight hundred or a thousand savages, if all my party were within. For, except accidents, it would only have afforded amusement, the Indians having no idea of taking a place by storm. Found myself powerfully attacked with the fantastics of the brain, called ennui, at the mention of which I had hitherto scoffed; but my books being packed up, I was like a person entranced, and could easily conceive why so many persons who have been confined to remote places, acquire the habit of drinking to excess, and many other vicious practices, which have been adopted merely to pass time.

During the next month he hunted the buffalo which were then in that vicinity. On the third of December he received a visit from Robert Dickson, afterwards noted in the history of the country, who was then trading about sixty miles below, on the Mississippi.

On the tenth of December with some sleds he continued his journey northward, and on the last day of the year passed Pine River. On the third of January, 1806, he reached the trading post at Red Cedar, now Cass Lake, and was quite indignant at finding the British flag floating from the staff. The night after this his tent caught on fire, and he lost some valuable and necessary clothing. On the evening of the eighth he reached Sandy Lake and was hospitably received by Grant, the trader in charge. He writes.

"JAN. 9th, *Thursday*.—Marched the corporal early, in order that our men should receive assurance of our safety and success. He carried with him a small keg of spirits, a present from Mr. Grant. The establishment of this place was formed twelve years since, by the North-west Company, and was formerly under the charge of a Mr. Charles Brusky. It has attained at present such regularity, as to permit the superintendent to live tolerably comfortable. They have horses they procured from Red River, of the Indians; raise plenty of Irish potatoes, catch pike, suckers, pickerel, and white fish in abundance. They have also beaver, deer, and moose; but the provision they chiefly depend upon is wild oats, of which they purchase great quantities from the savages, giving at the rate of about one dollar and a half per bushel. But flour, pork, and salt, are almost interdicted to persons not principals in the trade. Flour sells at half a dollar; salt a dollar; pork eighty cents; sugar half a dollar; and tea four dollars and fifty cents per pound. The sugar is obtained from the Indians, and is made from the maple tree."

He remained at Sandy Lake ten days, and on the last day two men of the Northwest Company arrived with letters from Fon du Lac Superior, one of which was from Athapuscow, and had been since May on the route.

On the twentieth of January began his journey to Leech Lake, which he reached on the first of February, and was hospitably received by Hugh

McGillis, the head of the Northwest Company at this post.

A Mr. Anderson, in the employ of Robert Dickson, was residing at the west end of the lake. While here he hoisted the American flag in the fort. The English yacht still flying at the top of the flagstaff, he directed the Indians and his soldiers to shoot at it. They soon broke the iron pin to which it was fastened, and it fell to the ground. He was informed by a venerable old Ojibway chief, called Sweet, that the Sioux dwelt there when he was a youth. On the tenth of February, at ten o'clock, he left Leech Lake with Corporal Bradley, the trader McGillis and two of his men, and at sunset arrived at Red Cedar, now Cass Lake. At this place, in 1798, Thompson, employed by the Northwest Company for three years, in topographical surveys, made some observations. He believed that a line from the Lake of the Woods would touch the sources of the Mississippi. Pike, at this point, was very kindly treated by a Canadian named Roy, and his Ojibway squaw. On his return home, he reached Clear River on the seventh of April, where he found his canoe and men, and at night was at Grand Rapids, Dickson's trading post. He talked until four o'clock the next morning with this person and another trader named Porlier. He forbade while there, the traders Greignor [Grignon] and La Jennesse, to sell any more liquor to Indians, who had become very drunken and unruly. On the tenth he again reached the Falls of Saint Anthony. He writes in his journal as follows:

APRIL 11th, *Friday*.—Although it snowed very hard we brought over both boats, and descended the river to the island at the entrance of the St. Peter's. I sent to the chiefs and informed them I had something to communicate to them. The Fils de Pincho immediately waited on me, and informed me that he would provide a place for the purpose. About sundown I was sent for and introduced into the council-house, where I found a great many chiefs of the Sussitongs, Gens de Feuilles, and the Gens du Lac. The Yanctongs had not yet come down. They were all awaiting for my arrival. There were about one hundred lodges, or six hundred people; we were saluted on our crossing the river with ball as usual. The council-house was two large lodges, capable of containing three hundred men. In the upper were forty chiefs, and as many pipes set against the poles, alongside of which I had the Santeur's pipes arranged. I then informed them in short detail, of my transactions with the Santeurs; but my interpreters were not capable of making themselves understood. I was therefore obliged to omit mentioning every particular relative to the rascal who fired on my sentinel, and of the scoundrel who broke the Fols Avoins' canoes, and threatened my life; the interpreters, however, informed them that I wanted some of their principal chiefs to go to St. Louis; and that those who thought proper might descend to the prairie, where we would give them more explicit information. They all smoked out of the Santeur's pipe, excepting three, who were painted black, and were some of those who lost their relations last winter. I invited the Fils de Pinchow, and the son of the Killeur Rouge, to come over and sup with me; when Mr. Dickson and myself endeavored to explain what I intended to have said to them, could I have made myself understood; that at the prairie we would have all things explained; that I was desirous of making a better report of them than Captain Lewis could do from their treatment of him. The former of those savages was the person who remained around my post all last winter, and treated my men so well; they endeavored to excuse their people.

"APRIL 12th, *Saturday*.—Embarked early. Although my interpreter had been frequently up the river, he could not tell me where the cave (spoken of by Carver) could be found; we carefully sought for it, but in vain. At the Indian village, a few miles below St. Peter's, we were about to pass a few lodges, but on receiving a very particular invitation to come on shore, we landed, and were received in a lodge kindly; they presented us sugar. I gave the proprietor a dram, and was about to depart when he demanded a kettle of liquor; on being refused, and after I had left the shore, he told me he did not like the arrangements, and that he would go to war this summer. I directed the interpreter to tell him that if I returned to St. Peter's with the troops, I would settle that affair with him. On our arrival at the St. Croix, I found the Pettit Corbeau with his people, and Messrs. Frazer and Wood. We had a conference, when the Pettit Corbeau made

many apologies for the misconduct of his people; he represented to us the different manners in which the young warriors had been inducing him to go to war; that he had been much blamed for dismissing his party last fall; but that he was determined to adhere as far as lay in his power to our instructions; that he thought it most prudent to remain here and restrain the warriors. He then presented me with a beaver robe and pipe, and his message to the general. That he was determined to preserve peace, and make the road clear; also a remembrance of his promised medal. I made a reply, calculated to confirm him in his good intentions, and assured him that he should not be the less remembered by his father, although not present. I was informed that, notwithstanding the instruction of his license, and my particular request, Murdoch Cameron had taken liquor and sold it to the Indians on the river St. Peter's, and that his partner below had been equally imprudent. I pledged myself to prosecute them according to law; for they have been the occasion of great confusion, and of much injury to the other traders. This day met a canoe of Mr. Dickson's loaded with provisions, under the charge of Mr. Anderson, brother of the Mr. Anderson at Leech Lake. He politely offered me any provision he had on board (for which Mr. Dickson had given me an order), but not now being in want, I did not accept of any. This day, for the first time, I observed the trees beginning to bud, and indeed the climate seemed to have changed very materially since we passed the Falls of St. Anthony."

The strife of political parties growing out of the French Revolution, and the declaration of war against Great Britain in the year 1812, postponed the military occupation of the Upper Mississippi by the United States of America, for several years.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE VALLEY OF THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI DURING SECOND WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

Dickson and other traders hostile—American stockade at Prairie du Chicu—Fort Shelby surrenders to Lt. Col. William McKay—Loyal traders Provencalle and Faribault—Rising Moose or One-eyed Sioux—Capt. Bulger evacuates Fort McKay—Intelligence of Peace.

Notwithstanding the professions of friendship made to Pike, in the second war with Great Britain, Dickson and others were found bearing arms against the Republic.

A year after Pike left Prairie du Chien, it was evident, that under some secret influence, the Indian tribes were combining against the United States. In the year 1809, Nicholas Jarrot declared that the British traders were furnishing the savages with guns for hostile purposes. On the first of May, 1812, two Indians were apprehended at Chicago, who were on their way to meet Dickson at Green Bay. They had taken the precaution to hide letters in their moccasins, and bury them in the ground, and were allowed to proceed after a brief detention. Frazer, of Prairie du Chien, who had been with Pike at the Council at the mouth of the Minnesota River, was at the portage of the Wisconsin when the Indians delivered these letters, which stated that the British flag would soon be flying again at Mackinaw. At Green Bay, the celebrated warrior, Black Hawk, was placed in charge of the Indians who were to aid the British. The American troops at Mackinaw were obliged, on the seventeenth of July, 1812, to capitulate without firing a single gun. One who was made prisoner, writes from Detroit to the Secretary of War:

"The persons who commanded the Indians are Robert Dickson, Indian trader, and John Askin, Jr., Indian agent, and his son. The latter two were painted and dressed after the manner of the Indians. Those who commanded the Canadians are John Johnson, Crawford, Pothier, Armitinger, La Croix, Rolette, Franks, Livingston, and other traders, some of whom were lately concerned in smuggling British goods into the Indian country, and, in conjunction with others, have been using their utmost efforts, several months before the declaration of war, to excite the Indians to take up arms. The least resistance from the fort would have been attended with the destruction of all the persons who fell into the hands of the British, as I have been assured by some of the British traders."

On the first of May, 1814, Governor Clark, with two hundred men, left St. Louis, to build a fort at the junction of the Wisconsin and Mississippi. Twenty days before he arrived at Prairie du Chien, Dickson had started for Mackinaw with a band of Dahkotahs and Winnebagoes. The place was left in command of Captain Deace and the Mackinaw Fencibles. The Dahkotahs refusing to co-operate, when the Americans made their appearance they fled. The Americans took possession of the old Mackinaw house, in which they found nine or ten trunks of papers belonging to Dickson. From one they took the following extract:

"'Arrived, from below, a few Winnebagoes with scalps. Gave them tobacco, six pounds powder and six pounds ball.'"

A fort was immediately commenced on the site of the old residence of the late H. L. Dousman, which was composed of two block-houses in the angles, and another on the bank of the river, with a subterranean communication. In honor of the governor of Kentucky it was named "Shelby."

The fort was in charge of Lieutenant Perkins, and sixty rank and file, and two gunboats, each of which carried a six-pounder; and several howitzers were commanded by Captains Yeiser, Sullivan, and Aid-de-camp Kennerly.

The traders at Mackinaw, learning that the Americans had built a fort at the Prairie, and knowing that as long as they held possession they would be cut off from the trade with the

Dahkotahs, immediately raised an expedition to capture the garrison.

The captain was an old trader by the name of McKay, and under him was a sergeant of artillery, with a brass six-pounder, and three or four volunteer companies of Canadian voyageurs, officered by Captains Griguon, Rolette and Anderson, with Lieutenants Brisbois and Duncan Graham, all dressed in red coats, with a number of Indians.

The Americans had scarcely completed their rude fortification, before the British force, guided by Joseph Rolette, Sr., descended in canoes to a point on the Wisconsin, several miles from the Prairie, to which they marched in battle array. McKay sent a flag to the Fort demanding a surrender. Lieutenant Perkins replied that he would defend it to the last.

A fierce encounter took place, in which the Americans were worsted. The officer was wounded, several men were killed and one of their boats captured, so that it became necessary to retreat to St. Louis. Fort Shelby after its capture, was called Fort McKay.

Among the traders a few remained loyal, especially Provencalle and J. B. Faribault, traders among the Sioux. Faribault was a prisoner among the British at the time Lieut. Col. Wm. McKay was preparing to attack Fort Shelby, and he refused to perform any service, Faribault's wife, who was at Prairie du Chien, not knowing that her husband was a prisoner in the hands of the advancing foe, fled with others to the Sioux village, where is now the city of Winona. Faribault was at length released on parole and returned to his trading post.

Pike writes of his flag, that "being in doubt whether it had been stolen by the Indians, or had fallen overboard and floated away, I sent for my friend the Orignal Leve." He also calls the Chief, Rising Moose, and gives his Sioux name Tahamie. He was one of those, who in 1805, signed the agreement, to surrender land at the junction of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers to the United States. He had but one eye, having lost the other when a boy, belonged to the Wapasha band of the Sioux, and proved true to the flag which had waved on the day he sat in council with Pike.

In the fall of 1814, with another of the same nation, he ascended the Missouri under the protection of the distinguished trader, Manual Lisa, as far as the Au Jacques or James River, and from thence struck across the country, enlisting the Sioux in favour of the United States, and at length arrived at Prairie du Chien. On his arrival, Dickson accosted him, and inquired from whence he came, and what was his business; at the same time rudely snatching his bundle from his shoulder, and searching for letters. The "one-eyed warrior" told him that he was from St. Louis, and that he had promised the white chiefs there that he would go to Prairie du Chien, and that he had kept his promise

Dickson then placed him in confinement in Fort McKay, as the garrison was called by the British, and ordered him to divulge what information he possessed, or he would put him to death. But the faithful fellow said he would impart nothing, and that he was ready for death if he wished to kill him. Finding that confinement had no effect, Dickson at last liberated him. He then left, and visited the bands of Sioux on the Upper Mississippi, with which he passed the winter. When he returned in the spring, Dickson had gone to Mackinaw, and Capt. A. Bulger, of the Royal New Foundland Regiment, was in command of the fort.

On the twenty-third of May, 1815, Capt. Bulger, wrote from Fort McKay to Gov. Clark at St. Louis: "Official intelligence of peace reached me yesterday. I propose evacuating the fort, taking with me the guns captured in the fort. * * * * I have not the smallest hesitation in declaring my decided opinion, that the presence of a detachment of British and United States troops at the same time, would be the means of embroiling one party or the other in a fresh rupture with the Indians, which I presume it is the wish of both governments to avoid."

The next month the "One-Eyed Sioux," with three other Indians and a squaw, visited St. Louis, and he informed Gov. Clark, that the British commander left the cannons in the fort when he evacuated, but in a day or two came back, took the cannons, and fired the fort with the American flag flying, but that he rushed in and saved it from being burned. From this time, the British flag ceased to float in the Valley of the Mississippi.

CHAPTER XIV.

LONG'S EXPEDITION, A. D. 1817, IN A SIX-OARED SKIFF, TO THE FALLS OF SAINT ANTHONY.

Carver's Grandsons.—Roque, Sioux Interpreter.—Wapashaw's Village and its Vicinity.—A Sacred Dance.—Indian Village Below Dayton's Bluff.—Carver's Cave.—Fountain Cave.—Falls of St. Anthony Described.—Site of a Fort.

Major Stephen H. Long, of the Engineer Corps of the United States Army, learning that there was little or no danger to be apprehended from the Indians, determined to ascend to the Falls of Saint Anthony, in a six-oared skiff presented to him by Governor Clark, of Saint Louis. His party consisted of a Mr. Hempstead, a native of New London, Connecticut, who had been living at Prairie du Chien, seven soldiers, and a half-breed interpreter, named Roque. A bark canoe accompanied them, containing Messrs. Gun and King, grandsons of the celebrated traveler, Jonathan Carver.

On the ninth of July, 1817, the expedition left Prairie du Chien, and on the twelfth arrived at "Trempe a l'eau." He writes:

"When we stopped for breakfast, Mr. Hempstead and myself ascended a high peak to take a view of the country. It is known by the name of the Kettle Hill, having obtained this appellation from the circumstance of its having numerous piles of stone on its top, most of them fragments of the rocky stratifications which constitute the principal part of the hill, but some of them small piles made by the Indians. These at a distance have some similitude of kettles arranged along upon the ridge and sides of the hill. From this, or almost any other eminence in its neighborhood, the beauty and grandeur of the prospect would baffle the skill of the most ingenious pencil to depict, and that of the most accomplished pen to describe. Hills marshaled into a variety of agreeable shapes, some of them towering into lofty peaks, while others present broad summits embellished with contours and slopes in the most pleasing manner; champaigns and waving valleys; forests, lawns, and parks alternating with each other; the humble Mississippi meandering far below, and occasionally losing itself in numberless islands, give variety and beauty to the picture, while rugged cliffs and stupendous precipices here and there present themselves as if to add boldness and majesty to the scene. In the midst of this beautiful scenery is situated a village of the Sioux Indians, on an extensive lawn called the Aux Aisle Prairie; at which we lay by for a short time. On our arrival the Indians hoisted two American flags, and we returned the compliment by discharging our blunderbuss and pistols. They then fired several guns ahead of us by way of a salute, after which we landed and were received with much friendship. The name of their chief is Wauppaushaw, or the Leaf, commonly called by a name of the same import in French, La Feuille, or La Fye, as it is pronounced in English. He is considered one of the most honest and honorable of any of the Indians, and endeavors to inculcate into the minds of his people the sentiments and principles adopted by himself. He was not at home at the time I called, and I had no opportunity of seeing him. The Indians, as I suppose, with the expectation that I had something to communicate to them, assembled themselves at the place where I landed and seated themselves upon the grass. I inquired if their chief was at home, and was answered in the negative. I then told them I should be very glad to see him, but as he was absent I would call on him again in a few days when I should return. I further told them that our father, the new President, wished to obtain some more information relative to his red children, and that I was on a tour to acquire any intelligence he might stand in need of. With this they appeared well satisfied, and permitted Mr. Hempstead and myself to go through their village. While I was in the wigwam, one of the subordinate chiefs, whose name was Wazzecoota, or Shooter from the Pine Tree, volunteered to

accompany me up the river. I accepted of his services, and he was ready to attend me on the tour in a very short time. When we hove in sight the Indians were engaged in a ceremony called the *Bear Dance;* a ceremony which they are in the habit of performing when any young man is desirous of bringing himself into particular notice, and is considered a kind of initiation into the state of manhood. I went on to the ground where they had their performances, which were ended sooner than usual on account of our arrival. There was a kind of flag made of fawn skin dressed with the hair on, suspended on a pole. Upon the flesh side of it were drawn certain rude figures indicative of the dream which it is necessary the young man should have dreamed, before he can be considered a proper candidate for this kind of initiation; with this a pipe was suspended by way of sacrifice. Two arrows were stuck up at the foot of the pole, and fragments of painted feathers, etc., were strewed about the ground near to it. These pertained to the religious rites attending the ceremony, which consists in bewailing and self-mortification, that the Good Spirit may be induced to pity them and succor their undertaking.

"At the distance of two or three hundred yards from the flag, is an excavation which they call the bear's hole, prepared for the occasion. It is about two feet deep, and has two ditches, about one foot deep, leading across it at right angles. The young hero of the farce places himself in this hole, to be hunted by the rest of the young men, all of whom on this occasion are dressed in their best attire and painted in their neatest style. The hunters approach the hole in the direction of one of the ditches, and discharge their guns, which were previously loaded for the purpose with blank cartridges, at the one who acts the part of the bear; whereupon he leaps from his den, having a hoop in each hand, and a wooden lance; the hoops serving as forefeet to aid him in characterizing his part, and his lance to defend him from his assailants. Thus accoutred he dances round the place, exhibiting various feats of activity, while the other Indians pursue him and endeavor to trap him as he attempts to return to his den, to effect which he is privileged to use any violence he pleases with impunity against his assailants, and even to taking the life of any of them.

"This part of the ceremony is performed three times, that the bear may escape from his den and return to it again through three of the avenues communicating with it. On being hunted from the fourth or last avenue, the bear must make his escape through all his pursuers, if possible, and flee to the woods, where he is to remain through the day. This, however, is seldom or never accomplished, as all the young men exert themselves to the utmost in order to trap him. When caught, he must retire to a lodge erected for his reception in the field, where he is to be secluded from all society through the day, except one of his particular friends whom he is allowed to take with him as an attendant. Here he smokes and performs various other rites which superstition has led the Indians to believe are sacred. After this ceremony is ended, the young Indian is considered qualified to act any part as an efficient member of their community. The Indian who has the good fortune to catch the bear and overcome him when endeavoring to make his escape to the woods, is considered a candidate for preferment, and is on the first suitable occasion appointed the leader of a small war party, in order that he may further have an opportunity to test his prowess and perform more essential service in behalf of his nation. It is accordingly expected that he will kill some of their enemies and return with their scalps. I regretted very much that I had missed the opportunity of witnessing this ceremony, which is never performed except when prompted by the particular dreams of one or other of the young men, who is never complimented twice in the same manner on account of his dreams."

On the sixteenth he approached the vicinity of where is now the capital of Minnesota, and writes: "Set sail at half past four this morning with a favorable breeze. Passed an Indian burying ground on our left, the first that I have seen surrounded by a fence. In the centre a pole is erected, at the foot of which religious rites are performed at the burial of an Indian, by the particular friends and relatives of the deceased. Upon the pole a flag is suspended when any person of extraordinary merit, or one who is very much beloved, is buried. In the enclosure were

two scaffolds erected also, about six feet high and six feet square. Upon one of them were two coffins containing dead bodies. Passed a Sioux village on our right containing fourteen cabins. The name of the chief is the Petit Corbeau, or Little Raven. The Indians were all absent on a hunting party up the River St. Croix, which is but a little distance across the country from the village. Of this we were very glad, as this band are said to be the most notorious beggars of all the Sioux on the Mississippi. One of their cabins is furnished with loop holes, and is situated so near the water that the opposite side of the river is within musket-shot range from the building. By this means the Petit Corbeau is enabled to exercise a command over the passage of the river and has in some instances compelled traders to land with their goods, and induced them, probably through fear of offending him, to bestow presents to a considerable amount, before he would suffer them to pass. The cabins are a kind of stockade buildings, and of a better appearance than any Indian dwellings I have before met with.

"Two miles above the village, on the same side of the river, is Carver's Cave, at which we stopped to breakfast. However interesting it may have been, it does not possess that character in a very high degree at present. We descended it with lighted candles to its lower extremity. The entrance is very low and about eight feet broad, so that a man in order to enter it must be completely prostrate. The angle of descent within the cave is about 25 deg. The flooring is an inclined plane of quicksand, formed of the rock in which the cavern is formed. The distance from its entrance to its inner extremity is twenty-four paces, and the width in the broadest part about nine, and its greatest height about seven feet. In shape it resembles a bakers's oven. The cavern was once probably much more extensive. My interpreter informed me that, since his remembrance, the entrance was not less than ten feet high and its length far greater than at present. The rock in which it is formed is a very white sandstone, so friable that the fragments of it will almost crumble to sand when taken into the hand. A few yards below the mouth of the cavern is a very copious spring of fine water issuing from the bottom of the cliff.

"Five miles above this is the Fountain Cave, on the same side of the river, formed in the same kind of sandstone but of a more pure and fine quality. It is far more curious and interesting than the former. The entrance of the cave is a large winding hall about one hundred and fifty feet in length, fifteen feet in width, and from eight to sixteen feet in height, finely arched overhead, and nearly perpendicular. Next succeeds a narrow passage and difficult of entrance, which opens into a most beautiful circular room, finely arched above, and about forty feet in diameter. The cavern then continues a meandering course, expanding occasionally into small rooms of a circular form. We penetrated about one hundred and fifty yards, till our candles began to fail us, when we returned. To beautify and embellish the scene, a fine crystal stream flows through the cavern, and cheers the lonesome dark retreat with its enlivening murmurs. The temperature of the water in the cave was 46 deg., and that of the air 60 deg. Entering this cold retreat from an atmosphere of 89 deg., I thought it not prudent to remain in it long enough to take its several dimensions and meander its courses; particularly as we had to wade in water to our knees in many places in order to penetrate as far as we went. The fountain supplies an abundance of water as fine as I ever drank. This cavern I was informed by my interpreter, has been discovered but a few years. That the Indians formerly living in its neighborhood knew nothing of it till within six years past. That it is not the same as that described by Carver is evident, not only from this circumstance, but also from the circumstance that instead of a stagnant pool, and only one accessible room of a very different form, this cavern has a brook running through it, and at least four rooms in succession, one after the other. Carver's Cave is fast filling up with sand, so that no water is now found in it, whereas this, from the very nature of the place, must be enlarging, as the fountain will carry along with its current all the sand that falls into it from the roof and sides of the cavern."

On the night of the sixteenth, he arrived at the Falls of Saint Anthony and encamped on the east shore just below the cataract. He writes in his journal:

"The place where we encamped last night needed no embellishment to render it romantic in the highest degree. The banks on both sides of the river are about one hundred feet high, decorated with trees and shrubbery of various kinds. The post oak, hickory, walnut, linden, sugar tree, white birch, and the American box; also various evergreens, such as the pine, cedar, juniper, etc., added their embellishments to the scene. Amongst the shrubery were the prickly ash, plum, and cherry tree, the gooseberry, the black and red raspberry, the chokeberry, grape vine, etc. There were also various kinds of herbage and flowers, among which were the wild parsley, rue, spikenard, etc., red and white roses, morning glory and various other handsome flowers. A few yards below us was a beautiful cascade of fine spring water, pouring down from a projecting precipice about one hundred feet hight. On our left was the Mississippi hurrying through its channel with great velocity, and about three quarters of a mile above us, in plain view, was the majestic cataract of the Falls of St. Anthony. The murmuring of the cascade, the roaring of the river, and the thunder of the cataract, all contributed to render the scene the most interesting and magnificient of any I ever before witnessed."

"The perpendicular fall of the water at the cataract, was stated by Pike in his journal, as sixteen and a half feet, which I found to be true by actual measurement. To this height, however, four or five feet may be added for the rapid descent which immediately succeeds to the perpendicular fall within a few yards below. Immediately at the cataract the river is divided into two parts by an island which extends considerably above and below the cataract, and is about five hundred yards long. The channel on the right side of the Island is about three times the width of that on the left. The quanity of water passins through them is not, however, in the same proportion, as about one-third part of the whole passes through the left channel. In the broadest channel, just below the cataract, is a small island also, about fifty yards in length and thirty in breadth. Both of these islands contain the same kind of rocky formation as the banks of the river, and are nearly as high. Besides these, there are immediately at the foot of the cataract, two islands of very inconsiderable size, situated in the right channel also. The rapids commence several hundred yards above the cataract and continue about eight miles below. The fall of the water, beginning at the head of the rapids, and extending two hundred and sixty rods down the river to where the portage road commences, below the cataract is, according to Pike, fifty-eight feet. If this estimate be correct the whole fall from the head to the foot of the rapids, is not probably much less than one hundred feet. But as I had no instrument sufficiently accurate to level, where the view must necessarily be pretty extensive, I took no pains to ascertain the extent of the fall. The mode I adopted to ascertain the height of a cataract, was to suspend a line and plummet from the table rock on the south side of the river, which at the same time had very little water passing over it as the river was unusually low. The rocky formations at this place were arranged in the following order, from the surface downward. A coarse kind of limestone in thin strata containing considerable silex; a kind of soft friable stone of a greenish color and slaty fracture, probably containing lime, aluminum and silex; a very beautiful satratification of shell limestone, in thin plates, extremely regular in its formation and containing a vast number of shells, all apparently of the same kind. This formation constitutes the Table Rock of the cataract. The next in order is a white or yellowish sandstone, so easily crumbled that it deserves the name of a sandbank rather than that of a rock. It is of various depths, from ten to fifty or seventy-five feet, and is of the same character with that found at the caves before described. The next in order is a soft friable sandstone, of a greenish color, similar to that resting upon the shell limestone. These stratifications occupied the whole space from the low water mark nearly to the top of the bluffs. On the east, or rather north side of the river, at the Falls, are high grounds, at the distance of half a mile from the river, considerably more elevated than the bluffs, and of a hilly aspect.

Speaking of the bluff at the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota, he writes: "A military work of considerable magnitude might be constructed on the point, and might be rendered sufficiently secure by occupying the commanding height in the rear in a suitable manner, as the

latter would control not only the point, but all the neighboring heights, to the full extent of a twelve pounder's range. The work on the point would be necessary to control the navigation of the two rivers. But without the commanding work in the rear, would be liable to be greatly annoyed from a height situated directly opposite on the other side of the Mississippi, which is here no more than about two hundred and fifty yards wide. This latter height, however, would not be eligible for a permanent post, on account of the numerous ridges and ravines situated immediately in its rear."

CHAPTER XV.

THOMAS DOUGLAS, EARL OF SELKIRK, AND THE RED RIVER VALLEY.

Early travelers to Lake Winnipeg—Earlies: Map by the Indian Otchaga—Bellin's allusion to it— Verendrye's Map—De la Jemeraye's Map—Fort La Reine—Fort on Red River abandoned—Origin of name Red Lake—Earl of Selkirk—Ossiniboia described—Scotch immigrants at Pembina—Strife of trading companies—Earl of Selkirk visits America—Governor Semple Killed—Romantic life of John Tanner, and his son James—Letter relative to Selkirk's tour through Minnesota.

The valley of the Red River of the North is not only an important portion of Minnesota, but has a most interesting history.

While there is no evidence that Groselliers, the first white man who explored Minnesota, ever visited Lake Winnipeg and the Red River, yet he met the Assineboines at the head of Lake Superior and at Lake Nepigon, while on his way by a northeasterly trail to Hudson's Bay, and learned something of this region from them.

The first person, of whom we have an account, who visited the region, was an Englishman, who came in 1692, by way of York River, to Winnipeg.

Ochagachs, or Otchaga, an intelligent Indian, in 1728, assured Pierre Gualtier de Varenne, known in history as the Sieur Verendrye, while he was stationed at Lake Nepigon, that there was a communication, largely by water, west of Lake Superior, to the Great Sea or Pacific Ocean. The rude map, drawn by this Indian, was sent to France, and is still preserved. Upon it is marked Kamanistigouia, the fort first established by Du Luth. Pigeon River is called Mantohavagane. Lac Sasakanaga is marked, and Rainy Lake is named Tecamemiouen. The river St. Louis, of Minnesota, is R. fond du L. Superior. The French geographer, Bellin, in his "Remarks upon the map of North America," published in 1755, at Paris, alludes to this sketch of Ochagachs, and says it is the earliest drawing of the region west of Lake Superior, in the Depot de la Marine.

After this Verendrye, in 1737, drew a map, which remains unpublished, which shows Red Lake in Northern Minnesota, and the point of the Big Woods in the Red River Valley. There is another sketch in the archives of France, drawn by De la Jemeraye. He was a nephew of Verendrye, and, under his uncle's orders, he was in 1731, the first to advance from the Grand Portage of Lake Superior, by way of the Nalaouagan or Groselliers, now Pigeon River, to Rainy Lake. On this appears Fort Rouge, on the south bank of the Assineboine at its junction with the Red River, and on the Assineboine, a post established on October 3, 1738, and called Fort La Reine. Bellin describes the fort on Red River, but asserts that it was abandoned because of its vicinity to Fort La Reine, on the north side of the Assinneboine, and only about nine miles by a portage, from Swan Lake. Red Lake and Red River were so called by the early French explorers, on account of the reddish tint of the waters after a storm.

Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, a wealthy, kind-hearted but visionary Scotch nobleman, at the commencement of the present century formed the design of planting a colony of agriculturists west of Lake Superior. In the year 1811 he obtained a grant of land from the Hudson Bay Company called Ossiniboia, which it seems strange has been given up by the people of Manitoba. In the autumn of 1812 a few Scotchmen with their families arrived at Pembina, in the Red River Valley, by way of Hudson Bay, where they passed the winter. In the winter of 1813-14 they were again at Fort Daer or Pembina. The colonists of Red River were rendered very unhappy by the strife of rival trading companies.

In the spring of 1815, McKenzie and Morrison, traders of the Northwest company, at Sandy Lake, told the Ojibway chief there, that they would give him and his band all the goods and rum at Leech or Sandy Lakes, if they would annoy the Red River settlers.

The Earl of Selkirk hearing of the distressed condition of his colony, sailed for America, and

in the fall of 1815, arrived at New York City. Proceeding to Montreal he found a messenger who had traveled on foot in mid-winter from the Red River by way of Red Lake and Fon du Lac, of Lake Superior. He sent back by this man, kind messages to the dispirited settlers, but one night he was way-laid near Fon du Lac, and robbed of his canoe and dispatches. An Ojibway chief at Sandy Lake, afterwards testified that a trader named Grant offered him rum and tobacco, to send persons to intercept a bearer of dispatches to Red River, and soon the messenger was brought in by a negro and some Indians.

Failing to obtain military aid from the British authorities in Canada, Selkirk made an engagement with four officers and eighty privates, of the discharged Meuron regiment, twenty of the De Watteville, and a few of the Glengary Fencibles, which had served in the late war with the United States, to accompany him to Red River. They were to receive monthly wages for navigating the boats to Red River, to have lands assigned them, and a free passage if they wished to return.

When he reached Sault St. Marie, he received the intelligence that the colony had again been destroyed, and that Semple, a mild, amiable, but not altogether judicious man, the chief governor of the factories and territories of the Hudson Bay company, residing at Red River, had been killed.

Schoolcraft, in 1832, says he saw at Leech Lake, Majegabowi, the man who had killed Gov. Semple, after he fell wounded from his horse.

Before he heard of the death of Semple, the Earl of Selkirk had made arrangements to visit his colony by way of Fon du Lac, on the St. Louis River, and Red Lake of Minnesota, but he now changed his mind, and proceeded with his force to Fort William, the chief trading post of the Northwest Company on Lake Superior; and apprehending the principal partners, warrants of commitment were issued, and they were forwarded to the Attorney-General of Upper Canada.

While Selkirk was engaged at Fort William, a party of emigrants in charge of Miles McDonnel, Governor, and Captain D'Orsomen, went forward to reinforce the colony. At Rainy Lake they obtained the guidance of a man who had all the characteristics of an Indian, and yet had a bearing which suggested a different origin. By his efficiency and temperate habits, he had secured the respect of his employers, and on the Earl of Selkirk's arrival at Red River, his attention was called to him, and in his welfare he became deeply interested. By repeated conversations with him, memories of a different kind of existence were aroused, and the light of other days began to brighten. Though he had forgotten his father's name, he furnished sufficient data for Selkirk to proceed with a search for his relatives. Visiting the United States in 1817, he published a circular in the papers of the Western States, which led to the identification of the man.

It appeared from his own statement, and those of his friends, that his name was John Tanner, the son of a minister of the gospel, who, about the year 1790, lived on the Ohio river, near the Miami. Shortly after his location there, a band of roving Indians passed near the house, and found John Tanner, then a little boy, filling his hat with walnuts from under a tree. They seized him and fled. The party was led by an Ottawa whose wife had lost a son. To compensate for his death, the mother begged that a boy of the same age might be captured.

Adopted by the band, Tanner grew up an Indian in his tastes and habits, and was noted for bravery. Selkirk was successful in finding his relatives. After twenty-eight years of separation, John Tanner in 1818, met his brother Edward near Detroit, and went with him to his home in Missouri. He soon left his brother, and went back to the Indians. For a time he was interpreter for Henry R. Schoolcraft, but became lazy and ill-natured, and in 1836, skulking behind some bushes, he shot and killed Schoolcraft's brother, and fled to the wilderness, where, in 1847, he died. His son, James, was kindly treated by the missionaries to the Ojibways of Minnesota; but he walked in the footsteps of his father. In the year 1851, he attempted to impose upon the Presbyterian minister in Saint Paul, and, when detected, called upon the Baptist minister, who, believing him a penitent, cut a hole in the ice, and received him into the church by immersion. In time, the Baptists found him out, when he became an Unitarian missionary, and, at last, it is said, met a death by violence.

Lord Selkirk was in the Red River Valley

during the summer of 1817, and on the eighteenth of July concluded a treaty with the Crees and Saulteaux, for a tract of land beginning at the mouth of the Red River, and extending along the same as far as the Great Forks (now Grand Forks) at the mouth of Red Lake River, and along the Assinniboine River as far as Musk Rat River, and extending to the distance of six miles from Fort Douglas on every side, and likewise from Fort Daer (Pembina) and also from the Great Forks, and in other parts extending to the distance of two miles from the banks of the said rivers.

Having restored order and confidence, attended by three or four persons he crossed the plains to the Minnesota River, and from thence proceeded to St. Louis. The Indian agent at Prairie du Chien was not pleased with Selkirk's trip through Minnesota; and on the sixth of February, 1818, wrote the Governor of Illinois under excitement, some groundless suspicions:

"What do you suppose, sir, has been the result of the passage through my agency of this British nobleman? Two entire bands, and part of a third, all Sioux, have deserted us and joined Dickson, who has distributed to them large quantities of Indian presents, together with flags, medals, etc. Knowing this, what must have been my feelings on hearing that his lordship had met with a favourable reception at St. Louis. The newspapers announcing *his arrival, and general Scottish* appearance, all tend to discompose me; believing as I do, that he is plotting with his friend Dickson our destruction—sharpening the savage scalping knife, and colonizing a tract of country, so remote as that of the Red River, for the purpose, no doubt, of monopolizing the fur and peltry trade of this river, the Missouri and their waters; a trade of the first importance to our Western States and Territories. A courier who had arrived a few days since, confirms the belief that Dickson is endeavouring to undo what I have done, and secure to the British government the affections of the Sioux, and subject the Northwest Company to his lordship. * * * Dickson, as I have before observed, is situated near the head of the St. Peter's, to which place he transports his goods from Selkirk's Red River establishment, in carts made for the purpose. The trip is performed in five days, sometimes less. He is directed to build a fort on the highest land between Lac du Traverse and Red River, which he supposes will be the established lines. This fort will be defended by twenty men, with two small pieces of artillery."

In the year 1820, at Berne, Switzerland, a circular was issued, signed, R. May D'Uzistorf, Captain, in his Britannic Majesty's service, and agent Plenipotentiary to Lord Selkirk. Like many documents to induce emigration, it was so highly colored as to prove a delusion and a snare. The climate was represented as "mild and healthy." "Wood either for building or fuel in the greatest plenty," and the country supplying "in profusion, whatever can be required for the convenience, pleasure or comfort of life." Remarkable statements considering that every green thing had been devoured the year before by grasshoppers.

Under the influence of these statements, a number were induced to embark. In the spring of 1821, about two hundred persons assembled on the banks of the Rhine to proceed to the region west of Lake Superior. Having descended the Rhine to the vicinity of Rotterdam, they went aboard the ship "Lord Wellington," and after a voyage across the Atlantic, and amid the ice-floes of Hudson's Bay, they reached York Fort. Here they debarked, and entering batteaux, ascended Nelson River for twenty days, when they came to Lake Winnipeg, and coasting along the west shore they reached the Red River of the North, to feel that they had been deluded, and to long for a milder clime. If they did not sing the Switzer's Song of Home, they appreciated its sentiments, and gradually these immigrants removed to the banks of the Mississippi River. Some settled in Minnesota, and were the first to raise cattle, and till the soil.

CHAPTER XVI.

FORT SNELLING DURING ITS OCCUPANCY BY COMPANIES OF THE FIFTH REGIMENT U. S. INFANTRY, A. D. 1819, TO A. D. 1827.

Orders for military occupation of Upper Mississippi—Leavenworth and Forsyth at Prairie du Chien—Birth in Camp—Troops arrive at Mendota—Cantonment Established—Wheat carried to Pembina—Notice of Devotion, Prescott, and Major Taliaferro—Camp Cold Water Established—Col. Snelling takes command—Impressive Scene—Officers in 1820—Condition of the Fort in 1821—Saint Anthony Mill—Alexis Bailly takes cattle to Pembina—Notice of Beltrami—Arrival of first Steamboat—Major Long's Expedition to Northern Boundary—Beltrami visits the northern sources of the Mississippi—First flour mill—First Sunday School—Great flood in 1826. African slaves at the Fort—Steamboat Arrivals—Duels—Notice of William Joseph Snelling—Indian fight at the Fort—Attack upon keel boats—General Gaines' report—Removal of Fifth Regiment—Death of Colonel Snelling.

The rumor that Lord Selkirk was founding a colony on the borders of the United States, and that the British trading companies within the boundaries of what became the territory of Minnesota, convinced the authorities at Washington of the importance of a military occupation of the valley of the Upper Mississippi.

By direction of Major General Brown, the following order, on the tenth of February, 1819, was issued:

"Major General Macomb, commander of the Fifth Military department, will without delay, concentrate at Detroit the Fifth Regiment of Infantry, excepting the recruits otherwise directed by the general order herewith transmitted. As soon as the navigation of the lakes will admit, he will cause the regiment to be transported to Fort Howard; from thence, by the way of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, to Prairie du Chien, and, after detaching a sufficient number of companies to garrison Forts Crawford and Armstrong, the remainder will proceed to the mouth of the River St. Peter's, where they will establish a post, at which the headquarters of the regiment will be located. The regiment, previous to its departure, will receive the necessary supplies of clothing, provisions, arms, and ammunition. Immediate application will be made to Brigadier General Jesup, Quartermaster General, for funds necessary to execute the movements required by this order."

On the thirteenth of April, this additional order was issued, at Detroit:

"The season having now arrived when the lakes may be navigated with safety, a detachment of the Fifth Regiment, to consist of Major Marston's and Captain Fowle's companies, under the command of Major Muhlenburg, will proceed to Green Bay. Surgeon's Mate, R. M. Byrne, of the Fifth Regiment, will accompany the detachment. The Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General will furnish the necessary transport, and will send by the same opportunity two hundred barrels of provisions, which he will draw from the contractor at this post. The provisions must be examined and inspected, and properly put up for transportation. Colonel Leavenworth will, without delay, prepare his regiment to move to the post on the Mississippi, agreeable to the Division order of the tenth of February. The Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General will furnish the necessary transportation, to be ready by the first of May next. The Colonel will make requisition for such stores, ammunition, tools and implements as may be required, and he be able to take with him on the expedition. Particular instructions will be given to the Colonel, explaining the objects of his expedition."

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1819.

On Wednesday, the last day of June, Col. Leavenworth and troops arrived from Green Bay, at Prairie du Chien. Scarcely had they reached this point when Charlotte Seymour, the wife of Lt. Nathan Clark, a native of Hartford, Ct., gave birth to a daughter, whose first baptismal name was Charlotte, after her mother, and the second Ouisconsin, given by the officers in view of the fact that she was born at the junction of that stream with the Mississippi.

In time Charlotte Ouisconsin married a young Lieutenant, a native of Princeton, New Jersey, and a graduate of West Point, and still resides with her husband, General H. P. Van Cleve, in

the city of Minneapolis, living to do good as she has opportunity.

In June, under instructions from the War Department, Major Thomas Forsyth, connected with the office of Indian affairs, left St. Louis with two thousand dollars worth of goods to be distributed among the Sioux Indians, in accordance with the agreement of 1805, already referred to, by the late General Pike.

About nine o'clock of the morning of the fifth of July, he joined Leavenworth and his command at Prairie du Chien. Some time was occupied by Leavenworth awaiting the arrival of ordnance, provisions and recruits, but on Sunday morning, the eighth of August, about eight o'clock, the expedition set out for the point now known as Mendota. The flotilla was quite imposing; there were the Colonel's barge, fourteen batteaux with ninety-eight soldiers and officers, two large canal or Mackinaw boats, filled with various stores, and Forsyth's keel boat, containing goods and presents for the Indians. On the twenty-third of August, Forsyth reached the mouth of the Minnesota with his boat, and the next morning Col. Leavenworth arrived, and selecting a place at Mendota, near the present railroad bridge, he ordered the soldiers to cut down trees and make a clearing. On the next Saturday Col. Leavenworth, Major Vose, Surgeon Purcell, Lieutenant Clark and the wife of Captain Gooding ivited the Falls of Saint Anthony with Forsyth, in his keel boat.

Early in September two more boats and a batteaux, with officers and one hundred and twenty recruits, arrived.

During the winter of 1820, Laidlow and others, in behalf of Lord Selkirk's Scotch settlers at Pembina, whose crops had been destroyed by grasshoppers, passed the Cantonment, on their way to Prairie du Chien, to purchase wheat. Upon the fifteenth of April they began their return with their Mackinaw boats, each loaded with two hundred bushels of wheat, one hundred of oats, and thirty of peas, and reached the mouth of the Minnesota early in May. Ascending this stream to Big Stone Lake, the boats were drawn on rollers a mile and a half to Lake Traverse, and on the third of June arrived at Pembina and cheered the desponding and needy settlers of the Selkirk colony.

The first sutler of the post was a Mr. Devotion. He brought with him a young man named Philander Prescott, who was born in 1801, at Phelpstown, Ontario county, New York. At first they stopped at Mud Hen Island, in the Mississippi below the mouth of the St. Croix River. Coming up late in the year 1819, at the site of the present town of Hastings they found a keel-boat loaded with supplies for the cantonment, in charge of Lieut. Oliver, detained by the ice.

Amid all the changes of the troops, Mr. Prescott remained nearly all his life in the vicinity of the post, to which he came when a mere lad, and was at length killed in the Sioux Massacre.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1820

In the spring of 1820, Jean Baptiste Faribault brought up Leavenworth's horses from Prairie du Chien.

The first Indian Agent at the post was a former army officer, Lawrence Taliaferro, pronounced Toliver. As he had the confidence of the Government for twenty-one successive years, he is deserving of notice.

His family was of Italian origin, and among the early settlers of Virginia. He was born in 1794, in King William county in that State, and when, in 1812, war was declared against Great Britain, with four brothers, he entered the army, and was commissioned as Lieutenant of the Thirty-fifth Infantry. He behaved gallantly at Fort Erie and Sackett's Harbor, and after peace was declared, he was retained as a First Lieutenant of the Third Infantry. In 1816 he was stationed at Fort Dearborn, now the site of Chicago. While on a furlough, he called one day upon President Monroe, who told him that a fort would be built near the Falls of Saint Anthony, and an Indian Agency established, to which he offered to appoint him. His commission was dated March 27th, 1819, and he proceeded in due time to his post.

On the fifth day of May, 1820, Leavenworth left his winter quarters at Mendota, crossed the stream and made a summer camp near the present military grave yard, which in consequence of a fine spring has been called "Camp Cold Water." The Indian agency, under Taliaferro, remained for a time at the old cantonment.

The commanding officer established a fine

garden in the bottom lands of the Minnesota, and on the fifteenth of June the earliest garden peas were eaten. The first distinguished visitors at the new encampment were Governor Lewis Cass, of Michigan, and Henry Schoolcraft, who arrived in July, by way of Lake Superior and Sandy Lake.

The relations between Col. Leavenworth and Indian Agent Taliaferro were not entirely harmonious, growing out of a disagreement of views relative to the treatment of the Indians, and on the day of the arrival of Governor Cass, Taliaferro writes to Leavenworth:

"As it is now understood that I am agent for Indian affairs in this country, and you are about to leave the upper Mississippi, in all probability in the course of a month or two, I beg leave to suggest, for the sake of a general understanding with the Indian tribes in this country, that any medals, you may possess, would by being turned over to me, cease to be a topic of remark among the different Indian tribes under my direction. I will pass to you any voucher that may be required, and I beg leave to observe that any progress in influence is much impeded in consequence of this frequent intercourse with the garrison."

In a few days, the disastrous effect of Indians mingling with the soldiers was exhibited. On the third of August, the agent wrote to Leavenworth:

"His Excellency Governor Cass during his visit to this post remarked to me that the Indians in this quarter were spoiled, and at the same time said they should not be permitted to enter the camp. An unpleasant affair has lately taken place; I mean the stabbing of the old chief Mahgossau by his comrade. This was caused, doubtless, by an anxiety to obtain the chief's whiskey. I beg, therefore, that no whiskey whatever be given to any Indians, unless it be through their proper agent. While an overplus of whiskey thwarts the benificent and humane policy of the government, it entails misery upon the Indians, and endangers their lives."

A few days after this note was written Josiah Snelling, who had been recently promoted to the Colonelcy of the Fifth Regiment, arrived with his family, relieved Leavenworth, and infused new life and energy. A little while before his arrival, the daughter of Captain Gooding was married to Lieutenant Green, the Adjutant of the regiment, the first marriage of white persons in Minnesota. Mrs. Snelling, a few days after her arrival, gave birth to a daughter, the first white child born in Minnesota, and after a brief existence of thirteen months, she died and was the first interred in the military grave yard, and for years the stone which marked its resting place, was visible.

The earliest manuscript in Minnesota, written at the Cantonment, is dated October 4, 1820, and is in the handwriting of Colonel Snelling. It reads: "In justice to Lawrence Taliaferro, Esq., Indian Agent at this post, we, the undersigned, officers of the Fifth Regiment here stationed, have presented him this paper, as a token, not only of our individual respect and esteem, but as an entire approval of his conduct and deportment as a public agent in this quarter. Given at St. Peter, this 4th day of October, 1820.

J. SNELLING, Col. 5th Inf.	N. CLARK, Lieutenant.
S. BURBANK, Br. Major.	JOS. HARE, Lieutenant.
DAVID PERRY, Captain.	ED. PURCELL, Surgeon,
D. GOODING, Brevet Captain.	P. R. GREEN, Lieut. and Adjt.
J. PLYMPTON, Lieutenant.	W. G. CAMP, Lt. and Q. M.
R. A. MCCABE, Lieutenant.	H. WILKINS, Lieutenant."

During the summer of 1820, a party of the Sisseton Sioux killed on the Missouri, Isadore Poupon, a half-breed, and Joseph Andrews, a Canadian engaged in the fur trade. The Indian Agent, through Colin Campbell, as interpreter, notified the Sissetons that trade would cease with them, until the murderers were delivered. At a council held at Big Stone Lake, one of the murderers, and the aged father of another, agreed to surrender themselves to the commanding officer.

On the twelfth of November, accompanied by their friends, they approached the encampment in solemn procession, and marched to the centre of the parade. First appeared a Sisseton bearing a British flag; then the murderer and the devoted father of another, their arms pinioned, and

large wooden splinters thrust through the flesh above the elbows indicating their contempt for pain and death; in the rear followed friends and relatives, with them chanting the death dirge. Having arrived in front of the guard, fire was kindled, and the British flag burned; then the murderer delivered up his medal, and both prisoners were surrounded. Col. Snelling detained the old chief, while the murderer was sent to St. Louis for trial.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1821.

Col. Snelling built the fort in the shape of a lozenge, in view of the projection between the two rivers. The first row of barracks was of hewn logs, obtained from the pine forests of Rum River, but the other buildings were of stone. Mrs. Van Cleve, the daughter of Lieutenant, afterwards Captain Clark, writes:

"In 1821 the fort, although not complete, was fit for occupancy. My father had assigned to him the quarters next beyond the steps leading to the Commissary's stores, and during the year my little sister Juliet was born there. At a later period my father and Major Garland obtained permission to build more commodious quarters outside the walls, and the result was the two stone houses afterwards occupied by the Indian Agent and interpreter, lately destroyed."

Early in August, a young and intelligent mixed blood, Alexis Bailly, in after years a member of the legislature of Minnesota, left the cantonment with the first drove of cattle for the Selkirk Settlement, and the next winter returned with Col. Robert Dickson and Messrs. Laidlow and Mackenzie.

The next month, a party of Sissetons visited the Indian Agent, and told him that they had started with another of the murderers, to which reference has been made, but that on the way he had, through fear of being hung, killed himself.

This fall, a mill was constructed for the use of the garrison, on the west side of St. Anthony Falls, under the supervision of Lieutenant McCabe. During the fall, George Gooding, Captain by brevet, resigned, and became Sutler at Prairie du Chien. He was a native of Massachusetts, and entered the army as ensign in 1808. In 1810 he became a Second Lieutenant, and the next year was wounded at Tippecanoe.

In the middle of October, there embarked on the keel-boat "Saucy Jack," for Prairie du Chien, Col. Snelling, Lieut. Baxley, Major Taliaferro, and Mrs. Gooding.

EVENTS OF 1822 AND 1823.

Early in January, 1822, there came to the Fort from the Red River of the North, Col. Robert Dickson, Laidlow, a Scotch farmer, the superintendent of Lord Selkirk's experimental farm, and one Mackenzie, on their way to Prairie du Chien. Dickson returned with a drove of cattle, but owing to the hostility of the Sioux his cattle were scattered, and never reached Pembina.

During the winter of 1823, Agent Taliaferro was in Washington. While returning in March, he was at a hotel in Pittsburg, when he received a note signed G. C. Beltrami, who was an Italian exile, asking permission to accompany him to the Indian territory. He was tall and commanding in appearance, and gentlemanly in bearing, and Taliaferro was so forcibly impressed as to accede to the request. After reaching St. Louis they embarked on the first steamboat for the Upper Mississippi.

It was named the Virginia, and was built in Pittsburg, twenty-two feet in width, and one hundred and eighteen feet in length, in charge of a Captain Crawford. It reached the Fort on the tenth of May, and was saluted by the discharge of cannon. Among the passengers, besides the Agent and the Italian, were Major Biddle, Lieut. Russell, and others.

The arrival of the Virginia is an era in the history of the Dahkotah nation, and will probably be transmitted to their posterity as long as they exist as a people. They say their sacred men, the night before, dreamed of seeing some monster of the waters, which frightened them very much.

As the boat neared the shore, men, women, and children beheld with silent astonishment, supposing that it was some enormous water-spirit, coughing, puffing out hot breath, and splashing water in every direction. When it touched the landing their fears prevailed, and they retreated some distance; but when the blowing off of steam commenced they were completely unnerved: mothers forgetting their children, with streaming hair, sought hiding-places; chiefs, re-

nouncing their stoicism, scampered away like affrighted animals.

The peace agreement beteen the Ojibways and Dahkotahs, made through the influence of Governor Cass, was of brief duration, the latter being the first to violate the provisions.

On the fourth of June, Taliaferro, the Indian agent among the Dahkotahs, took advantage of the presence of a large number of Ojibways to renew the agreement for the cessation of hostilities. The council hall of the agent was a large room of logs, in which waved conspicuously the flag of the United States, surrounded by British colors and medals that had been delivered up from time to time by Indian chiefs.

Among the Dahkotah chiefs present were Wapashaw, Little Crow, and Penneshaw; of the Ojibways there were Kendouswa, Moshomene, and Pasheskonoepe. After mutual accusations and excuses concerning the infraction of the previous treaty, the Dahkotahs lighted the calumet, they having been the first to infringe upon the agreement of 1820. After smoking and passing the pipe of peace to the Ojibways, who passed through the same formalities, they all shook hands as a pledge of renewed amity.

The morning after the council, Flat Mouth, the distinguished Ojibway chief, arrived, who had left his lodge vowing that he would never be at peace with the Dahkotahs. As he stepped from his canoe, Penneshaw held out his hand, but was repulsed with scorn. The Dahkotah warrior immediately gave the alarm, and in a moment runners were on their way to the neighboring villages to raise a war party.

On the sixth of June, the Dahkotahs had assembled, stripped for a fight, and surrounded the Ojibways. The latter, fearing the worst, concealed their women and children behind the old barracks which had been used by the troops while the fort was being erected. At the solicitation of the agent and commander of the fort, the Dahkotahs desisted from an attack and retired.

On the seventh, the Ojibways left for their homes; but, in a few hours, while they were making a portage at Falls of St. Anthony, they were again approached by the Dahkotahs, who would have attacked them, if a detachment of troops had not arrived from the fort.

A rumor reaching Penneshaw's village that he had been killed at the falls, his mother seized an Ojibway maiden, who had been a captive from infancy, and, with a tomahawk, cut her in two. Upon the return of the son in safety he was much gratified at what he considered the prowess of his parent.

On the third of July, 1823, Major Long, of the engineers, arrived at the fort in command of an expedition to explore the Minnesota River, and the region along the northern boundary line of the United States. Beltrami, at the request of Col. Snelling, was permitted to be of the party, and Major Taliaferro kindly gave him a horse and equipments.

The relations of the Italian to Major Long were not pleasant, and at Pembina Beltrami left the expedition, and with a "bois brule", and two Ojibways proceeded and discovered the northern sources of the Mississippi, and suggested where the western sources would be found; which was verified by Schoolcraft nine years later. About the second week in September Beltrami returned to the fort by way of the Mississippi, escorted by forty or fifty Ojibways, and on the 25th departed for New Orleans, where he published his discoveries in the French language.

The mill which was constructed in 1821, for sawing lumber, at the Falls of St. Anthony, stood upon the site of the Holmes and Sidle Mill, in Minneapolis, and in 1823 was fitted up for grinding flour. The following extracts from correspondence addressed to Lieut. Clark, Commissary at Fort Snelling, will be read with interest.

Under the date of August 5th, 1823, General Gibson writes: "From a letter addressed by Col. Snelling to the Quartermaster General, dated the 2d of April, I learn that a large quantity of wheat would be raised this summer. The assistant Commissary of Subsistence at St. Louis has been instructed to forward sickles and a pair of millstones to St. Peters. If any flour is manufactured from the wheat raised, be pleased to let me know as early as practicable, that I may deduct the quantity manufactured at the post from the quantity advertised to be contracted for."

In another letter, General Gibson writes: "Below you will find the amount charged on the books against the garrison at Ft. St. Anthony, for certain articles, and forwarded for the use of the troops at that post, which you will deduct

from the payments to be made for flour raised and turned over to you for issue :

One pair buhr millstones	$250 11
337 pounds plaster of Paris	20 22
Two dozen sickles	18 00
Total	$288 33

Upon the 19th of January, 1824, the General writes: "The mode suggested by Col. Snelling, of fixing the price to be paid to the troops for the flour furnished by them is deemed equitable and just. You will accordingly pay for the flour $3.33 per barrel."

Charlotte Ouisconsin Van Cleve, now the oldest person living who was connected with the cantonment in 1819, in a paper read before the Department of American History of the Minnesota Historical Society in January, 1880, wrote :

"In 1823, Mrs. Snelling and my mother established the first Sunday School in the Northwest. It was held in the basement of the commanding officer's quarters, and was productive of much good. Many of the soldiers, with their families, attended. Joe. Brown, since so well know in this country, then a drummer boy, was one of the pupils. A Bible class, for the officers and their wives, was formed, and all became so interested in the history of the patriarchs, that it furnished topics of conversation for the week. One day after the Sunday School lesson on the death of Moses, a member of the class meeting my mother on the parade, after exchanging the usual greetings, said, in saddened tones, 'But don't you feel sorry that Moses is dead?'

Early in the spring of 1824, the Tully boys were rescued from the Sioux and brought to the fort. They were children of one of the settlers of Lord Selkirk's colony, and with their parents and others, were on their way from Red River Valley to settle near Fort Snelling.

The party was attacked by Indians, and the parents of these children murdered, and the boys captured. Through the influence of Col. Snelling the children were ransomed and brought to the fort. Col. Snelling took John and my father Andrew, the younger of the two. Everyone became interested in the orphans, and we loved Andrew as if he had been our own little brother. John died some two years after his arrival at the fort, and Mrs. Snelling asked me when I last saw her if a tomb stone had been placed at his grave, she as requested, during a visit to the old home some years ago. She said she received a promise that it should be done, and seemed quite disappointed when I told her it had not been attended to."

Andrew Tully, after being educated at an Orphan Asylum in New York City, became a carriage maker, and died a few years ago in that vicinity.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR A. D. 1824.

In the year 1824 the Fort was visited by Gen. Scott, on a tour of inspection, and at his suggestion, its name was changed from Fort St. Anthony to Fort Snelling. The following is an extract from his report to the War Department :

"This work, of which the War Department is in possession of a plan, reflects the highest credit on Col. Snelling, his officers and men. The defenses, and for the most part, the public storehouses, shops and quarters being constructed of stone, the whole is likely to endure as long as the post shall remain a frontier one. The cost of erection to the government has been the amount paid for tools and iron, and the per diem paid to soldiers employed as mechanics. I wish to suggest to the General in Chief, and through him to the War Department, the propriety of calling this work Fort Snelling, as a just compliment to the meritorious officer under whom it has been erected. The present name, (Fort St. Anthony), is foreign to all our associations, and is, besides, geographically incorrect, as the work stands at the junction of the Mississippi and St. Peter's [Minnesota] Rivers, eight miles below the great falls of the Mississippi, called after St. Anthony."

In 1824, Major Taliaferro proceeded to Washington with a delegation of Chippeways and Dahkotahs, headed by Little Crow, the grand father of the chief of the same name, who was engaged in the late horrible massacre of defenceless women and children. The object of the visit, was to secure a convocation of all the tribes of the Upper Mississippi, at Prairie du Chein, to define their boundary lines and establish friendly relations. When they reached Prairie du Chein, Wahnatah, a Yankton chief, and also Wapashaw, by the whisperings of mean traders, became dis-

affected, and wished to turn back. Little Crow, perceiving this, stopped all hesitancy by the following speech: "My friends, you can do as you please. I am no coward, nor can my ears be pulled about by evil counsels. We are here and should go on, and do some good for our nation. I have taken our Father here (Taliaferro) by the coat tail, and will follow him until I take by the hand, our great American Father."

While on board of a steamer on the Ohio River, Marcpee or the Cloud, in consequence of a bad dream, jumped from the stern of the boat, and was supposed to be drowned, but he swam ashore and made his way to St. Charles, Mo., there to be murdered by some Sacs. The remainder safely arrived in Washington and accomplished the object of the visit. The Dahkotahs returned by way of New York, and while there were anxious to pay a visit to certain parties with Wm. Dickson, a half-breed son of Col. Robert Dickson, the trader, who in the war of 1812-15 led the Indians of the Northwest against the United States.

After this visit Little Crow carried a new double-barreled gun, and said that a medicine man by the name of Peters gave it to him for signing a certain paper, and that he also promised he would send a keel-boat full of goods to them. The medicine man referred to was the Rev. Samuel Peters, an Episcopal clergyman, who had made himself obnoxious during the Revolution by his tory sentiments, and was subsequently nominated as Bishop of Vermont.

Peters asserted that in 1806 he had purchased of the heirs of Jonathan Carver the right to a tract of land on the upper Mississippi, embracing St. Paul, alleged to have been given to Carver by the Dahkotahs, in 1767.

The next year there arrived, in one of the keel-boats from Prairie du Chien, at Fort Snelling a box marked Col. Robert Dickson. On opening, it was found to contain a few presents from Peters to Dickson's Indian wife, a long letter, and a copy of Carver's alleged grant, written on parchment.

EVENTS OF THE YEARS 1825 AND 1826.

On the 30th of October, 1825, seven Indian women in canoes, were drawn into the rapids above the Falls of St. Anthony. All were saved but a lame girl, who was dashed over the cataract, and a month later her body was found at Pike's Island in front of the fort.

Forty years ago, the means of communication between Fort Snelling and the civilized world were very limited. The mail in winter was usually carried by soldiers to Prairie du Chien. On the 26th of January, 1826, there was great joy in the fort, caused by the return from furlough of Lieutenants Baxley and Russell, who brought with them the first mail received for five months. About this period there was also another excitement, cause by the seizure of liquors in the trading house of Alexis Bailey, at New Hope, now Mendota.

During the months of February and March, in this year, snow fell to the depth of two or three feet, and there was great suffering among the Indians. On one occasion, thirty lodges of Sisseton and other Sioux were overtaken by a snow storm on a large prairie. The storm continued for three days, and provisions grew scarce, for the party were seventy in number. At last, the stronger men, with the few pairs of snow-shoes in their possession, started for a trading post one hundred miles distant. They reached their destination half alive, and the traders sympathizing sent four Canadians with supplies for those left behind. After great toil they reached the scene of distress, and found many dead, and, what was more horrible, the living feeding on the corpses of their relatives. A mother had eaten her dead child and a portion of her own father's arms. The shock to her nervous system was so great that she lost her reason. Her name was Pashuno-ta, and she was both young and good looking. One day in September, while at Fort Snelling, she asked Captain Jouett if he knew which was the best portion of a man to eat, at the same time taking him by the collar of his coat. He replied with great astonishment, "No!" and she then said, "The arms." She then asked for a piece of his servant to eat, as she was nice and fat. A few days after this she dashed herself from the bluffs near Fort Snelling, into the river. Her body was found just above the mouth of the Minnesota, and decently interred by the agent.

The spring of 1826 was very backward. On the 20th of March snow fell to the depth of one or one and a half feet on a level, and drifted in

heaps from six to fifteen feet in height. On the 5th of April, early in the day, there was a violent storm, and the ice was still thick in the river. During the storm flashes of lightning were seen and thunder heard. On the 10th, the thermometer was four degrees above zero. On the 14th there was rain, and on the next day the St. Peter river broke up, but the ice on the Mississippi remained firm. On the 21st, at noon, the ice began to move, and carried away Mr. Faribault's houses on the east side of the river. For several days the river was twenty feet above low water mark, and all the houses on low lands were swept off. On the second of May, the steamboat Lawrence, Captain Reeder, arrived.

Major Taliaferro had inherited several slaves, which he used to hire to officers of the garrison. On the 31st of March, his negro boy, William, was employed by Col. Snelling, the latter agreeing to clothe him. About this time, William attempted to shoot a hawk, but instead shot a small boy, named Henry Cullum, and nearly killed him. In May, Captain Plympton, of the Fifth Infantry, wished to purchase his negro woman, Eliza, but he refused, as it was his intention, ultimately, to free his slaves. Another of his negro girls, Harriet, was married at the fort, the Major performing the ceremony, to the now historic Dred Scott, who was then a slave of Surgeon Emerson. The only person that ever purchased a slave, to retain in slavery, was Alexis Bailly, who bought a man of Major Garland. The Sioux, at first, had no prejudices against negroes. They called them "Black Frenchmen," and placing their hands on their woolly heads would laugh heartily.

The following is a list of the steamboats that had arrived at Fort Snelling, up to May 26, 1826:

1 Virginia, May 10, 1823; 2 Neville; 3 Putnam, April 2, 1825; 3 Mandan; 5 Indiana; 6 Lawrence, May 2, 1826; 7 Sciota; 8 Eclipse; 9 Josephine; 10 Fulton; 11 Red Rover; 12 Black Rover; 13 Warrior; 14 Enterprise; 15 Volant.

Life within the walls of a fort is sometimes the exact contrast of a paradise. In the year 1826 a Pandora box was opened, among the officers, and dissensions began to prevail. One young officer, a graduate of West Point, whose father had been a professor in Princeton College, fought a duel with, and slightly wounded, William Joseph, the talented son of Colonel Snelling, who was then twenty-two years of age, and had been three years at West Point. At a Court Martial convened to try the officer for violating the Articles of War, the accused objected to the testimony of Lieut. William Alexander, a Tennesseean, not a graduate of the Military Academy, on the ground that he was an infidel. Alexander, hurt by this allusion, challenged the objector, and another duel was fought, resulting only in slight injuries to the clothing of the combatants. Inspector General E. P. Gaines, after this, visited the fort, and in his report of the inspection he wrote: "A defect in the discipline of this regiment has appeared in the character of certain personal controversies, between the Colonel and several of his young officers, the particulars of which I forbear to enter into, assured as I am that they will be developed in the proceedings of a general court martial ordered for the trial of Lieutenant Hunter and other officers at Jefferson Barracks.

"From a conversation with the Colonel I can have no doubt that he has erred in the course pursued by him in reference to some of the controversies, inasmuch as he has intimated to his officers his willingness to sanction in certain cases, and even to participate in personal conflicts, contrary to the twenty-fifth, Article of War."

The Colonel's son, William Joseph, after this passed several years among traders and Indians, and became distinguished as a poet and brilliant author.

His "Tales of the Northwest," published in Boston in 1820, by Hilliard, Gray, Little & Wilkins, is a work of great literary ability, and Catlin thought the book was the most faithful picture of Indian life he had read. Some of his poems were also of a high order. One of his pieces, deficient in dignity, was a caustic satire upon modern American poets, and was published under the title of "Truth, a Gift for Scribblers."

Nathaniel P. Willis, who had winced under the last, wrote the following lampoon:

"Oh, smelling Joseph! Thou art like a cur.
I'm told thou once did live by hunting fur:
Of bigger dogs thou smellest, and, in sooth,
Of one extreme, perhaps, can tell the truth.
'Tis a wise shift, and shows thou know'st thy powers,
To leave the 'North West tales,' and take to smelling ours."

In 1832 a second edition of "Truth" appeared with additions and emendations. In this appeared the following pasquinade upon Willis:

"I live by hunting fur, thou say'st, so let it be,
But tell me, Natty! Had I hunted thee,
Had not my time been thrown away, young sir,
And eke my powder? Puppies have no fur.

Our tails? Thou ownest thee to a tail,
I've scanned thee o'er and o'er
But, though I guessed the species right,
I was not sure before.

Our savages, authentic travelers say,
To natural fools, religious homage pay,
Hadst thou been born in wigwam's smoke, and
died in,
Nat! thine apotheosis had been certain."

Snelling died at Chelsea, Mass., December sixteenth, 1848, a victim to the appetite which enslaved Robert Burns.

In the year 1826, a small party of Ojibways (Chippeways) came to see the Indian Agent, and three of them ventured to visit the Columbia Fur Company's trading house, two miles from the Fort. While there, they became aware of their danger, and desired two of the white men attached to the establishment to accompany them back, thinking that their presence might be some protection. They were in error. As they passed a little copse, three Dahkotahs sprang from behind a log with the speed of light, fired their pieces into the face of the foremost, and then fled. The guns must have been double loaded, for the man's head was literally blown from his shoulders, and his white companions were spattered with brains and blood. The survivors gained the Fort without further molestation. Their comrade was buried on the spot where he fell. A staff was set up on his grave, which became a landmark, and received the name of The Murder Pole. The murderers boasted of their achievement and with impunity. They and their tribe thought that they had struck a fair blow on their ancient enemies, in a becoming manner. It was only said, that Toopunkah Zeze of the village of the *Batture aux Fievres*, and two others, had each acquired a right to wear skunk skins on their heels and war-eagles' feathers on their heads.

EVENTS OF A. D. 1827.

On the twenty-eighth of May, 1827, the Ojibway chief at Sandy Lake, Kee-wee-zais-hish called by the English, Flat Mouth with seven warriors and some women and children, in all amounting to twenty-four, arrived about sunrise at Fort Snelling. Walking to the gates of the garrison, they asked the protection of Colonel Snelling and Taliaferro, the Indian agent. They were told, that as long as they remained under the United States flag, they were secure, and were ordered to encamp within musket shot of the high stone walls of the fort.

During the afternoon, a Dahkotah, Toopunkah Zeze, from a village near the first rapids of the Minnesota, visited the Ojibway camp. They were cordially received, and a feast of meat and corn and sugar, was soon made ready. The wooden plates emptied of their contents, they engaged in conversation, and whiffed the peace pipe.

That night, some officers and their friends were spending a pleasant evening at the head-quarters of Captain Clark, which was in one of the stone houses which used to stand outside of the walls of the fort. As Captain Cruger was walking on the porch, a bullet whizzed by, and rapid firing was heard.

As the Dahkotahs, or Sioux, left the Ojibway camp, notwithstanding their friendly talk, they turned and discharged their guns with deadly aim upon their entertainers, and ran off with a shout of satisfaction. The report was heard by the sentinel of the fort, and he cried, repeatedly, "Corporal of the guard!" and soon at the gates, were the Ojibways, with their women and the wounded, telling their tale of woe in wild and incoherent language. Two had been killed and six wounded. Among others, was a little girl about seven years old, who was pierced through both thighs with a bullet. Surgeon McMahon made every effort to save her life, but without avail.

Flat Mouth, the chief, reminded Colonel Snelling that he had been attacked while under the protection of the United States flag, and early the next morning, Captain Clark, with one hundred soldiers, proceeded towards Land's End, a trading-post of the Columbia Fur Company, on the Minnesota, a mile above the former residence of

Franklin Steele, where the Dahkotahs were supposed to be. The soldiers had just left the large gate of the fort, when a party of Dahkotahs, in battle array, appeared on one of the prairie hills. After some parleying they turned their backs, and being pursued, thirty-two were captured near the trading-post.

Colonel Snelling ordered the prisoners to be brought before the Ojibways, and two being pointed out as participants in the slaughter of the preceding night, they were delivered to the aggrieved party to deal with in accordance with their customs. They were led out to the plain in front of the gate of the fort, and when placed nearly without the range of the Ojibway guns, they were told to run for their lives. With the rapidity of deer they bounded away, but the Ojibway bullet flew faster, and after a few steps, they fell gasping on the ground, and were soon lifeless. Then the savage nature displayed itself in all its hideousness. Women and children danced for joy, and placing their fingers in the bullet holes, from which the blood oozed, they licked them with delight. The men tore the scalps from the dead, and seemed to luxuriate in the privilege of plunging their knives through the corpses. After the execution, the Ojibways returned to the fort, and were met by the Colonel. He had prevented all over whom his authority extended from witnessing the scene, and had done his best to confine the excitement to the Indians. The same day a deputation of Dahkotah warriors received audience, regretting the violence that had been done by their young men, and agreeing to deliver up the ringleaders.

At the time appointed, a son of Flat Mouth, with those of the Ojibwa party that were not wounded, escorted by United States troops, marched forth to meet the Dahkotah deputation, on the prairie just beyond the old residence of the Indian agent. With much solemnity two more of the guilty were handed over to the assaulted. One was fearless, and with firmness stripped himself of his clothing and ornaments, and distributed them. The other could not face death with composure. He was noted for a hideous hare-lip, and had a bad reputation among his fellows. In the spirit of a coward he prayed for life, to the mortification of his tribe. The same opportunity was presented to them as to the first, of running for their lives. At the first fire the coward fell a corpse; but his brave companion, though wounded, ran on, and had nearly reached the goal of safety, when a second bullet killed him. The body of the coward now became a common object of loathing for both Dahkotahs and Ojibways.

Colonel Snelling told the Ojibways that the bodies must be removed, and then they took the scalped Dahkotahs, and dragging them by the heels, threw them off the bluff into the river, a hundred and fifty feet beneath. The dreadful scene was now over; and a detachment of troops was sent with the old chief Flat Mouth, to escort him out of the reach of Dahkotah vengeance.

An eyewitness wrote: "After this catastrophe, all the Dahkotahs quitted the vicinity of Fort Snelling, and did not return to it for some months. It was said that they formed a conspiracy to demand a council, and kill the Indian Agent and the commanding officer. If this was a fact, they had no opportunity, or wanted the spirit, to execute their purpose.

"The Flat Mouth's band lingered in the fort till their wounded comrade died. He was sensible of his condition, and bore his pains with great fortitude. When he felt his end approach, he desired that his horse might be gaily caparisoned, and brought to the hospital window, so that he might touch the animal. He then took from his medicine bag a large cake of maple sugar, and held it forth. It may seem strange, but it is true, that the beast ate it from his hand. His features were radiant with delight as he fell back on the pillow exhausted. His horse had eaten the sugar, he said, and he was sure of a favorable reception and comfortable quarters in the other world. Half an hour after, he breathed his last. We tried to discover the details of his superstition, but could not succeed. It is a subject on which Indians unwillingly discourse."

In the fall of 1826, all the troops at Prairie du Chien had been removed to Fort Snelling, the commander taking with him two Winnebagoes that had been confined in Fort Crawford. After the soldiers left the Prairie, the Indians in the vicinity were quite insolent.

In June, 1827, two keel-boats passed Prairie du Chien on the way to Fort Snelling with provisions. When they reached Wapashaw village, on

the site of the present town of Winona, the crew were ordered to come ashore by the Dahkotahs. Complying, they found themselves surrounded by Indians with hostile intentions. The boatmen had no fire-arms, but assuming a bold mien and a defiant voice, the captain of the keel-boats ordered the savages to leave the decks; which was successful, The boats pushed on, and at Red Wing and Kaposia the Indians showed that they were not friendly, though they did not molest the boats. Before they started on their return from Fort Snelling, the men on board, amounting to thirty-two, were all provided with muskets and a barrel of ball cartridges.

When the descending keel-boats passed Wapashaw, the Dahkotas were engaged in the war dance, and menaced them, but made no attack. Below this point one of the boats moved in advance of the other, and when near the mouth of the Bad Axe, the half-breeds on board descried hostile Indians on the banks. As the channel neared the shore, the sixteen men on the first boat were greeted with the war whoop and a volley of rifle balls from the excited Winnebagoes, killing two of the crew. Rushing into their canoes, the Indians made the attempt to board the boat, and two were successful. One of these stationed himself at the bow of the boat, and fired with killing effect on the men below deck. An old soldier of the last war with Great Britain, called Saucy Jack, at last despatched him, and began to rally the fainting spirits on board. During the fight the boat had stuck on a sand-bar. With four companions, amid a shower of balls from the savages, he plunged into the water and pushed off the boat, and thus moved out of reach of the galling shots of the Winnebagoes. As they floated down the river during the night, they heard a wail in a canoe behind them, the voice of a father mourning the death of the son who had scaled the deck, and was now a corpse in possession of the white men. The rear boat passed the Bad Axe river late in the night, and escaped an attack.

The first keel-boat arrived at Prairie du Chein, with two of their crew dead, four wounded, and the Indian that had been killed on the boat. The two dead men had been residents of the Prairie, and now the panic was increased. On the morning of the twenty-eighth of June the second keel-boat appeared, and among her passengers was Joseph Snelling, the talented son of the colonel, who wrote a story of deep interest, based on the facts narrated.

At a meeting of the citizens it was resolved to repair old Fort Crawford, and Thomas McNair was appointed captain. Dirt was thrown around the bottem logs of the fortification to prevent its being fired, and young Snelling was put in command of one of the block-houses. On the next day a voyageur named Loyer, and the well-known trader Duncan Graham, started through the interior, west of the Mississippi, with intelligence of the murders, to Fort Snelling. Intelligence of this attack was received at the fort, on the evening of the ninth of July, and Col. Snelling started in keel boats with four companies to Fort Crawford, and on the seventeenth four more companies left under Major Fowle. After an absence of six weeks, the soldiers, without firing a gun at the enemy, returned.

A few weeks after the attack upon the keel boats General Gaines inspected the Fort, and, subsequently in a communication to the War Department wrote as follows;

"The main points of defence against an enemy appear to have been in some respects sacrificed, in the effort to secure the comfort and convenience of troops in peace. These are important considerations, but on an exposed frontier the primary object ought to be security against the attack of an enemy.

"The buildings are too large, too numerous, and extending over a space entirely too great, enclosing a large parade, five times greater than is at all desireable in that climate. The buildings for the most part seem well constructed, of good stone and other materials, and they contain every desirable convenience, comfort and security as barracks and store houses.

"The work may be rendered very strong and adapted to a garrison of two hundred men by removing one-half the buildings, and with the materials of which they are constructed, building a tower sufficiently high to command the hill between the Mississippi and St. Peter's [Minnesota], and by a block house on the extreme point, or brow of the cliff, near the commandant's quarters, to secure most effectually the banks of the river, and the boats at the landing.

"Much credit is due to Colonel Snelling, his officers and men, for their immense labors and excellent workmanship exhibited in the construction of these barracks and store houses, but this has been effected too much at the expense of the discipline of the regiment."

From reports made from 1823 to 1826, the health of the troops was good. In the year ending September thirty, 1823, there were but two deaths; in 1824 only six, and in 1825 but seven.

In 1823 there were three desertions, in 1824 twenty-two, and in 1825 twenty-nine. Most of the deserters were fresh recruits and natives of America, Ten of the deserters were foreigners, and five of these were born in Ireland. In 1826 there were eight companies numbering two hundred and fourteen soldiers quartered in the Fort.

During the fall of 1827 the Fifth Regiment was relieved by a part of the First, and the next year Colonel Snelling proceeded to Washington on business, where he died with inflammation of the brain. Major General Macomb announcing his death in an order, wrote:

"Colonel Snelling joined the army in early youth. In the battle of Tippecanoe, he was distinguished for gallantry and good conduct. Subsequently and during the whole late war with Great Britain, from the battle of Brownstown to the termination of the contest, he was actively employed in the field, with credit to himself, and honor to his country."

CHAPTER XVII.

OCCURRENCES IN THE VICINITY OF FORT SNELLING, CONTINUED.

Arrival of J. N. Nicollet—Marriage of James Wells—Nicollet's letter from Falls of St. Anthony—Perils of Martin McLeod—Chippeway treachery—Sioux Revenge—Rum River and Stillwater battles—Grog shops near the Fort.

On the second of July 1836, the steamboat Saint Peter landed supplies, and among its passengers was the distinguished French astronomer, Jean N. Nicollet (Nicolay). Major Taliaferro on the twelfth of July, wrote; "Mr. Nicollet, on a visit to the post for scientific research, and at present in my family, has shown me the late work of Henry R. Schoolcraft on the discovery of the source of the Mississippi; which claim is ridiculous in the extreme." On the twenty-seventh, Nicollet ascended the Mississippi on a tour of observation.

James Wells, a trader, who afterwards was a member of the legislature, at the house of Oliver Cratte, near the fort, was married on the twelfth of September, by Agent Taliaferro, to Jane, a daughter of Duncan Graham. Wells was killed in 1862, by the Sioux, at the time of the massacre in the Minnesota Valley.

Nicollet in September returned from his trip to Leech Lake, and on the twenty-seventh wrote the following to Major Taliaferro the Indian Agent at the fort, which is supposed to be the earliest letter extant written from the site of the city of Minneapolis. As the principal hotel and one of the finest avenues of that city bears his name it is worthy of preservation. He spelled his name sometimes Nicoley, and the pronunciation in English, would be Nicolay, the same as if written Nicollet in French. The letter shows that he had not mastered the English language: "ST. ANTHONY'S FALLS, 27th September, 1836,

DEAR FRIEND:—I arrived last evening about dark; all well, nothing lost, nothing broken, happy and a very successful journey. But I done exhausted, and nothing can relieve me, but the pleasure of meeting you again under your hospitable roof, and to see all the friends of the garrison who have been so kind to me.

"This letter is more particularly to give you a very extraordinary tide. Flat Mouth, the chief of Leech Lake and suite, ten in number are with me. The day before yesterday I met them again at Swan river where they detained me one day. I had to bear a new harangue and gave answer. All terminated by their own resolution that they ought to give you the hand, as well as to the Guinas of the Fort (Colonel Davenport.) I thought it my duty to acquaint you with it beforehand. Peace or war are at stake of the visit they pay you. Please give them a good welcome until I have reported to you and Colonel Davenport all that has taken place during my stay among the Pillagers. But be assured I have not trespassed and that I have behaved as would have done a good citizen of the U. S. As to Schoolcraft's statement alluding to you, you will have full and complete satisfaction from Flat Mouth himself. In haste, your friend, J. N. NICOLEY."

EVENTS OF A. D. 1837.

On the seventeenth of March, 1837, there arrived Martin McLeod, who became a prominent citizen of Minnesota, and the legislature has given his name to a county.

He left the Red River country on snow shoes, with two companions, one a Polander and the other an Irishman named Hays, and Pierre Bottineau as interpreter. Being lost in a violent snow storm the Pole and Irishman perished. He and his guide, Bottineau, lived for a time on the flesh of one of their dogs. After being twenty-six days without seeing any one, the survivors reached the trading post of Joseph R. Brown, at Lake Traverse, and from thence they came to the fort.

EVENTS OF A. D. 1838.

In the month of April, eleven Sioux were slain in a dastardly manner, by a party of Ojibways,

under the noted and elder Hole-in-the-Day. The Chippeways feigned the warmest friendship, and at dark lay down in the tents by the side of the Sioux, and in the night silently arose and killed them. The occurrence took place at the Chippeway River, about thirty miles from Lac qui Parle, and the next day the Rev. G. H. Pond, the Indian missionary, accompanied by a Sioux, went out and buried the mutilated and scalpless bodies.

On the second of August old Hole-in-the-Day, and some Ojibways, came to the fort. They stopped first at the cabin of Peter Quinn, whose wife was a half-breed Chippeway, about a mile from the fort.

The missionary, Samuel W. Pond, told the agent that the Sioux, of Lake Calhoun were aroused, and on their way to attack the Chippeways. The agent quieted them for a time, but two of the relatives of those slain at Lac qui Parle in April, hid themselves near Quinn's house, and as Hole-in-the-Day and his associates were passing, they fired and killed one Chippeway and wounded another. Obequette, a Chippeway from Red Lake, succeded, however, in shooting a Sioux while he was in the act of scalping his comrade. The Chippeways were brought within the fort as soon as possible, and at nine o'clock a Sioux was confined in the guard-house as a hostage.

Notwithstanding the murdered Chippeway had been buried in the graveyard of the fort for safety, an attempt was made on the part of some of the Sioux, to dig it up. On the evening of the sixth, Major Plympton sent the Chippeways across the river to the east side, and ordered them to go home as soon as possible.

EVENTS OF A. D. 1839.

On the twentieth day of June the elder Hole-in-the-Day arrived from the Upper Mississippi with several hundred Chippeways. Upon their return homeward the Mississippi and Mille Lacs band encamped the first night at the Falls of Saint Anthony, and some of the Sioux visited them and smoked the pipe of peace.

On the second of July, about sunrise, a son-in-law of the chief of the Sioux band, at Lake Calhoun, named Meekaw or Badger, was killed and scalped by two Chippeways of the Pillager band, relatives of him who lost his life near Patrick Quinn's the year before. The excitement was intense among the Sioux, and immediately war parties started in pursuit. Hole-in-the-Day's band was not sought, but the Mille Lacs and Saint Croix Chippeways. The Lake Calhoun Sioux, with those from the villages on the Minnesota, assembled at the Falls of Saint Anthony, and on the morning of the fourth of July, came up with the Mille Lacs Chippeways on Rum River, before sunrise. Not long after the war whoop was raised and the Sioux attacked, killing and wounding ninety.

The Kaposia band of Sioux pursued the Saint Croix Chippeways, and on the third of July found them in the Penitentiary ravine at Stillwater, under the influence of whisky. Aitkin, the old trader, was with them. The sight of the Sioux tended to make them sober, but in the fight twenty-one were killed and twenty-nine were wounded.

Whisky, during the year 1839, was freely introduced, in the face of the law prohibiting it. The first boat of the season, the Ariel, came to the fort on the fourteenth of April, and brought twenty barrels of whisky for Joseph R. Brown, and on the twenty-first of May, the Glaucus brought six barrels of liquor for David Faribault. On the thirtieth of June, some soldiers went to Joseph R. Brown's groggery on the opposite side of the Mississippi, and that night forty-seven were in the guard-house for drunkenness. The demoralization then existing, led to a letter by Surgeon Emerson, on duty at the fort, to the Surgeon General of the United States army, in which he writes:

"The whisky is brought here by citizens who are pouring in upon us and settling themselves on the opposite shore of the Mississippi river, in defiance of our worthy commanding officer, Major J. Plympton, whose authority they set at naught. At this moment there is a citizen named Brown, once a soldier in the Fifth Infantry, who was discharged at this post, while Colonel Snelling commanded, and who has been since employed by the American Fur Company, actually building on the land marked out by the land officers as the reserve, and within gunshot distance of the fort, a very expensive whisky shop."

CHAPTER XVIII.

INDIAN TRIBES IN MINNESOTA AT THE TIME OF ITS ORGANIZATION.

Sioux or Dahkotah people—Meaning of words Sioux and Dahkotah—Early villages—Residence of Sioux in 1849—The Winnebagoes—The Ojibways or Chippeways.

The three Indian nations who dwelt in this region after the organization of Minnesota, were the Sioux or Dahkotahs; the Ojibways or Chippeways; and the Ho-tchun-graws or Winnebagoes.

SIOUX OR DAHKOTAHS.

They are an entirely different group from the Algonquin and Iroquois, who were found by the early settlers of the Atlantic States, on the banks of the Connecticut, Mohawk, and Susquehanna Rivers.

When the Dahkotahs were first noticed by the European adventurers, large numbers were occupying the Mille Lacs region of country, and appropriately called by the voyageur, "People of the Lake," "Gens du Lac." And tradition asserts that here was the ancient centre of this tribe. Though we have traces of their warring and hunting on the shores of Lake Superior, there is no satisfactory evidence of their residence, east of the Mille Lacs region, as they have no name for Lake Superior.

The word Dahkotah, by which they love to be designated, signifies allied or joined together in friendly compact, and is equivalent to "E pluribus unum," the motto on the seal of the United States.

In the history of the mission at La Pointe, Wisconsin, published nearly two centuries ago, a a writer, referring to the Dahkotahs, remarks:

"For sixty leagues from the extremity of the Upper Lake, toward sunset; and, as it were in the centre of the western nations. they have all *united their force by a general league.*"

The Dahkotahs in the earliest documents, and even until the present day, are called Sioux, Scioux, or Soos. The name originated with the early voyageurs. For centuries the Ojibways of Lake Superior waged war against the Dahkotahs; and, whenever they spoke of them, called them Nadowaysioux, which signifies enemies.

The French traders, to avoid exciting the attention of Indians, while conversing in their presence, were accustomed to designate them by names, which would not be recognized.

The Dahkotahs were nicknamed Sioux, a word composed of the two last syllables of the Ojibway word for foes

Under the influence of the French traders, the eastern Sioux began to wander from the Mille Lacs region. A trading post at O-ton-we-kpadan, or Rice Creek, above the Falls of Saint Anthony, induced some to erect their summer dwellings and plant corn there, which took the place of wild rice. Those who dwelt here were called Wa-kpa-a-ton-we-dan Those who dwell on the creek. Another division was known as the Ma-tan-ton-wan.

Less than a hundred years ago, it is said that the eastern Sioux, pressed by the Chippeways, and influenced by traders, moved seven miles above Fort Snelling on the Minnesota River.

MED-DAY-WAH-KAWN-TWAWNS.

In 1849 there were seven villages of Med-day-wah-kawn-twawn Sioux. (1) Below Lake Pepin, where the city of Winona is, was the village of Wapashaw. This band was called Kee-yu-ksa, because with them blood relations intermarried. Bounding or Whipping Wind was the chief. (2) At the head of Lake Pepin, under a lofty bluff, was the Red Wing village, called Ghay-mni-chan Hill, wood and water. Shooter was the name of the chief. (3) Opposite, and a little below the Pig's Eye Marsh, was the Kaposia band. The word, Kapoja means light, given because these people are quick travelers. His Scarlet People, better known as Little Crow, was the chief, and is notorious as the leader in the massacre of 1862.

On the Minnesota River, on the south side,

a few miles above Fort Snelling, was Black Dog village. The inhabitants were called, Ma-ga-yu-tay-shnee. People who do not a geese, because they found it profitable to sell game at Fort Snelling. Grey Iron was the chief, also known as Pa-ma-ya-yaw, My head aches.

At Oak Grove, on the north side of the river, eight miles above the fort, was (5) Hay-ya-ta-o-ton-wan, or Inland Village, so called because they formerly lived at Lake Calkoun. Contiguous was (6) O-ya-tay-shee-ka, or Bad People, Known as Good Roads Band and (7) the largest village was Tin-ta-ton-wan, Prairie Village; Shokpay, or Six, was the chief, and is now the site of the town of Shakopee.

West of this division of the Sioux were—

WAR-PAY-KU-TAY.

The War-pay-ku-tay, or leaf shooters, who occupied the country south of the Minnesota around the sources of the Cannon and Blue Earth Rivers.

WAR-PAY-TWAWNS.

North and west of the last were the War-pay-twawns, or People of the Leaf, and their principal village was Lac qui Parle. They numbered about fifteen hundred.

SE-SEE-TWAWNS.

To the west and southwest of these bands of Sioux were the Se-see-twawns (Sissetoans), or Swamp Dwellers. This band claimed the land west of the Blue Earth to the James River, and the guardianship of the Sacred Red Pipestone Quarry. Their principal village was at Traverse, and the number of the band was estimated at thirty-eight hundred.

HO-TCHUN-GRAWS, OR WINNEBAGOES.

The Ho-tchun-graws, or Winnebagoes, belong to the Dahkotah family of aborigines. Champlain, although he never visited them, mentions them. Nicollet, who had been in his employ, visited Green Bay about the year 1635, and an early Relation mentions that he saw the Ouinipegous, a people called so, because they came from a distant sea, which some French erroneously called Puants. Another writer speaking of these people says: "This people are called 'Les Puants' not because of any bad odor peculiar to them, but because they claim to have come from the shores of a far distant lake, towards the north, whose waters are salt. They call themselves the people 'de l'eau puants,' of the putrid or bad water."

By the treaty of 1837 they were removed to Iowa, and by another treaty in October, 1846, they came to Minnesota in the spring of 1848, to the country between the Long Prairie, and Crow Wing Rivers. The agency was located on Long Prairie River, forty miles from the Mississippi, and in 1849 the tribe numbered about twenty-five hundred souls.

In February 1855, another treaty was made with them, and that spring they removed to lands on the Blue Earth River. Owing to the panic caused by the outbreak of the Sioux in 1862, Congress, by a special act, without consulting them, in 1863, removed them from their fields in Minnesota to the Missouri River, and in the words of a missionary, "they were, like the Sioux, dumped in the desert, one hundred miles above Fort Randall"

OJIBWAY OR CHIPPEWAY NATION.

The Ojibways or Leapers, when the French came to Lake Superior, had their chief settlement at Sault St. Marie, and were called by the French Saulteurs, and by the Sioux, Hah-ha-tonwan, Dwellers at the Falls or Leaping Waters.

When Du Luth erected his trading post at the western extremity of Lake Superior, they had not obtained any foothold in Minnesota, and were constantly at war with their hereditary enemes, the Nadouaysioux. By the middle of the eighteenth century, they had pushed in and occupied Sandy, Leech, Mille Lacs and other points between Lake Superior and the Mississippi, which had been dwelling places of the Sioux. In 1820 the principal villages of Ojibways in Minnesota were at Fond du Lac, Leech Lake and Sandy Lake. In 1837 they ceded most of their lands. Since then, other treaties have been made, until in the year 1881, they are confined to a few reservations, in northern Minnesota and vicinity.

CHAPTER XIX.

EARLY MISSIONS AMONG THE OJIBWAYS AND DAHKOTAHS OF MINNESOTA.

Jesuit Missions not permanent—Presbyterian Mission at Mackinaw—Visit of Rev. A. Coe and J. D. Stevens to Fort Snelling—Notice of Ayers, Hall, and Boutwell—Formation of the word Itasca—The Brothers Pond—Arrival of Dr. Williamson—Presbyterian Church at Fort Snelling—Mission at Lake Harriet—Mourning for the Dead—Church at Lac-qui parle—Father Ravoux—Mission at Lake Pokegama—Attack by the Sioux—Chippeway attack at Pig's Eye—Death of Rev. Sherman Hall—Methodist Missions Rev. S. W. Pond prepares a Sioux Grammar and Dictionary Swiss Presbyterian Mission.

Bancroft the distinguished historian, catching the enthusiasm of the narratives of the early Jesuits, depicts, in language which glows, their missions to the Northwest; yet it is erroneous to suppose that the Jesuits exercised any permanent influence on the Aborigines.

Shea, a devoted member of the Roman Catholic Church, in his History of American Catholic Missions writes: "In 1680 Father Engalran was apparently alone at Green Bay, and Pierson at Mackinaw. Of the other missions neither LeClerq nor Hennepin, the Recollect writers of the West at this time, make any mention, or in any way allude to their existence." He also says that "Father Menard had projected a Sioux mission; Marquette, Allouez, Druilletes, all entertained hopes of realizing it, and had some intercourse with that nation, but none of them ever succeeded in establishing a mission."

Father Hennepin wrote: "Can it be possible, that, that pretended prodigious amount of savage converts could escape the sight of a multitude of French Canadians who travel every year? * * * * How comes it to pass that these churches so devout and so numerous, should be invisible, when I passed through so many countries and nations?"

After the American Fur Company was formed, the island of Mackinaw became the residence of the principal agent for the Northwest, Robert Stuart a Scotchman, and devoted Presbyterian.

In the month of June, 1820, the Rev. Dr. Morse, father of the distinguished inventor of the telegraph, visited and preached at Mackinaw, and in consequence of statements published by him, upon his return, a Presbyterian Missionary Society in the state of New York sent a graduate of Union College, the Rev. W. M. Ferry, father of the present United States Senator from Michigan, to explore the field. In 1823 he had established a large boarding school composed of children of various tribes, and here some were educated who became wives of men of intelligence and influence at the capital of Minnesota. After a few years, it was determined by the Mission Board to modify its plans, and in the place of a great central station, to send missionaries among the several tribes to teach and to preach.

In pursuance of this policy, the Rev. Alvan Coe, and J. D. Stevens, then a licentiate who had been engaged in the Mackinaw Mission, made a tour of exploration, and arrived on September 1, 1829, at Fort Snelling. In the journal of Major Lawrence Taliaferro, which is in possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, is the following entry: "The Rev. Mr. Coe and Stevens reported to be on their way to this post, members of the Presbyterian church looking out for suitable places to make missionary establishment for the Sioux and Chippeways, found schools, and instruct in the arts and agriculture."

The agent, although not at that time a communicant of the Church, welcomed these visitors, and afforded them every facility in visiting the Indians. On Sunday, the 6th of September, the Rev. Mr. Coe preached twice in the fort, and the next night held a prayer meeting at the quarters of the commanding officer. On the next Sunday he preached again, and on the 14th, with Mr. Stevens and a hired guide, returned to Mackinaw by way of the St. Croix river. During this visit the agent offered for a Presbyterian mission the mill which then stood on the site of Minneapolis, and had been erected by the government, as well as

the farm at Lake Calhoun, which was begun to teach the Sioux agriculture.

CHIPPEWAY MISSIONS.

In 1830, F. Ayer, one of the teachers at Mackinaw, made an exploration as far as La Pointe, and returned.

Upon the 30th day of August, 1831, a Mackinaw boat about forty feet long arrived at La Pointe, bringing from Mackinaw the principal trader, Mr. Warren, Rev. Sherman Hall and wife, and Mr. Frederick Ayer, a catechist and teacher.

Mrs. Hall attracted great attention, as she was the first white woman who had visited that region. Sherman Hall was born on April 30, 1801, at Wethersfield, Vermont, and in 1828 graduated at Dartmouth College, and completed his theological studies at Andover, Massachusetts, a few weeks before he journeyed to the Indian country.

His classmate at Dartmouth and Andover, the Rev W. T. Boutwell still living near Stillwater, became his yoke-fellow, but remained for a time at Mackinaw, which they reached about the middle of July. In June, 1832, Henry R. Schoolcraft, the head of an exploring expedition, invited Mr. Boutwell to accompany him to the sources of the Mississippi.

When the expedition reached Lac la Biche or Elk Lake, on July 13, 1832, Mr. Schoolcraft, who was not a Latin scholar, asked the Latin word for truth, and was told "veritas." He then wanted the word which signified head, and was told "caput." To the astonishment of many, Schoolcraft struck off the first sylable, of the word ver-i-tas and the last sylable of ca-put, and thus coined the word Itasca, which he gave to the lake, and which some modern writers, with all gravity, tell us was the name of a maiden who once dwelt on its banks. Upon Mr. Boutwell's return from this expedition he was at first associated with Mr. Hall in the mission at La Pointe.

In 1833 the mission band which had centered at La Pointe diffused their influence. In October Rev. Mr. Boutwell went to Leech Lake, Mr. Ayer opened a school at Yellow Lake, Wisconsin, and Mr. E. F. Ely, now in California, became a teacher at Aitkin's trading post at Sandy Lake.

SIOUX MISSIONARIES.

Mr. Boutwell, of Leech Lake Station, on the sixth of May, 1834, happened to be on a visit to Fort Snelling. While there a steamboat arrived, and among the passengers were two young men, brothers, natives of Washington, Connecticut, Samuel W. and Gideon H. Pond, who had come, constrained by the love of Christ, and without conferring with flesh and blood, to try to improve the Sioux.

Samuel, the older brother, the year before, had talked with a liquor seller in Galena, Illinois, who had come from the Red River country, and the desire was awakened to help the Sioux; and he wrote to his brother to go with him.

The Rev. Samuel W. Pond still lives at Shakopee, in the old mission house, the first building of sawed lumber erected in the valley of the Minnesota, above Fort Snelling.

MISSIONS AMONG THE SIOUX A. D. 1835.

About this period, a native of South Carolina, a graduate of Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, the Rev. T. S. Williamson, M. D., who previous to his ordination had been a respectable physician in Ohio, was appointed by the American Board of Foreign Missions to visit the Dahkotahs with the view of ascertaining what could be done to introduce Christian instruction. Having made inquiries at Prairie du Chien and Fort Snelling, he reported the field was favorable.

The Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, through their joint Missionary Society, appointed the following persons to labor in Minnesota: Rev. Thomas S. Williamson, M. D., missionary and physician; Rev. J. D. Stevens, missionary; Alexander Huggins, farmer; and their wives; Miss Sarah Poage, and Lucy Stevens, teachers; who were prevented during the year 1834, by the state of navigation, from entering upon their work.

During the winter of 1834-35, a pious officer of the army exercised a good influence on his fellow officers and soldiers under his command. In the absence of a chaplain of ordained minister, he, like General Havelock, of the British army in India, was accustomed not only to drill the soldiers, but to meet them in his own quarters, and reason with them "of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come."

In the month of May, 1835, Dr. Williamson and mission band arrived at Fort Snelling, and

were hospitably received by the officers of the garrison, the Indian Agent, and Mr. Sibley, Agent of the Company at Mendota, who had been in the country a few months.

On the twenty-seventh of this month the Rev. Dr. Williamson united in marriage at the Fort Lieutenant Edward A. Ogden to Eliza Edna, the daughter of Captain G. A. Loomis, the first marriage service in which a clergyman officiated in the present State of Minnesota.

On the eleventh of June a meeting was held at the Fort to organize a Presbyterian Church, sixteen persons who had been communicants, and six who made a profession of faith, one of whom was Lieutenant Ogden, were enrolled as members.

Four elders were elected, among whom were Capt. Gustavus Loomis and Samuel W. Pond. The next day a lecture preparatory to administering the communion, was delivered, and on Sunday, the 14th, the first organized church in the Valley of the Upper Mississippi assembled for the first time in one of the Company rooms of the Fort. The services in the morning were conducted by Dr. Williamson. The afternoon service commenced at 2 o'clock. The sermon of Mr. Stevens was upon a most appropriate text, 1st Peter, ii:25; "For ye were as sheep going astray, but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls." After the discourse, the sacrament of the Lord's supper was administered.

At a meeting of the Session on the thirty-first of July, Rev. J. D. Stevens, missionary, was invited to preach to the church, "so long as the duties of his mission will permit, and also to preside at all the meetings of the Session." Captain Gustavus Loomis was elected Stated Clerk of the Session, and they resolved to observe the monthly concert of prayer on the first Monday of each month, for the conversion of the world.

Two points were selected by the missionaries as proper spheres of labor. Mr. Stevens and family proceeded to Lake Harriet, and Dr. Williamson and family, in June, proceeded to Lac qui Parle.

As there had never been a chaplain at Fort Snelling, the Rev. J. D. Stevens, the missionary at Lake Harriet, preached on Sundays to the Presbyterian church, there, recently organized. Writing on January twenty-seventh, 1836, he says, in relation to his field of labor:

"Yesterday a portion of this band of Indians, who had been some time absent from this village, returned. One of the number (a woman) was informed that a brother of hers had died during her absence. He was not at this village, but with another band, and the information had just reached here. In the evening they set up a most piteous crying, or rather wailing, which continued, with some little cessations, during the night. The sister of the deceased brother would repeat, times without number, words which may be thus translated into English: 'Come, my brother, I shall see you no more for ever.' The night was extremely cold, the thermometer standing from ten to twenty below zero. About sunrise, next morning, preparation was made for performing the ceremony of cutting their flesh, in order to give relief to their grief of mind. The snow was removed from the frozen ground over about as large a space as would be required to place a small Indian lodge or wigwam. In the centre a very small fire was kindled up, not to give warmth, apparently, but to cause a smoke. The sister of the deceased, who was the chief mourner, came out of her lodge followed by three other women, who repaired to the place prepared. They were all barefooted, and nearly naked. Here they set up a most bitter lamentation and crying, mingling their wailings with the words before mentioned. The principal mourner commenced gashing or cutting her ankles and legs up to the knees with a sharp stone, until her legs were covered with gore and flowing blood; then in like manner her arms, shoulders, and breast. The others cut themselves in the same way, but not so severely. On this poor infatuated woman I presume there were more than a hundred long deep gashes in the flesh. I saw the operation, and the blood instantly followed the instrument, and flowed down upon the flesh. She appeared frantic with grief. Through the pain of her wounds, the loss of blood, exhaustion of strength by fasting, loud and long-continued and bitter groans, or the extreme cold upon her almost naked and lacerated body, she soon sunk upon the frozen ground, shaking as with a violent fit of the ague, and writhing in apparent agony. 'Surely,' I exclaimed, as I beheld the bloody

scene, 'the tender mercies of the heathen are cruelty!'

"The little church at the fort begins to manifest something of a missionary spirit Their contributions are considerable for so small a number. I hope they will not only be willing to contribute liberally of their substance, but will give themselves, at least some of them, to the missionary work.

"The surgeon of the military post, Dr. Jarvis, has been very assiduous in his attentions to us in our sickness, and has very generously made a donation to our board of twenty-five dollars, being the amount of his medical services in our family.

"On the nineteenth instant we commenced a school with six full Indian children, at least so in all their habits, dress, etc.; not one could speak a word of any language but Sioux. The school has since increased to the number of twenty-five. I am now collecting and arranging words for a dictionary. Mr. Pond is assiduously employed in preparing a small spelling-book, which we may forward next mail for printing.

On the fifteenth of September, 1836, a Presbyterian church was organized at Lac-qui-Parle, a branch of that in and near Fort Snelling, and Joseph Renville, a mixed blood of great influence, became a communicant. He had been trained in Canada by a Roman Catholic priest, but claimed the right of private judgment. Mr. Renville's wife was the first pure Dahkotah of whom we have any record that ever joined the Church of Christ. This church has never become extinct, although its members have been necessarily nomadic. After the treaty of Traverse des Sioux, it was removed to Hazlewood. Driven from thence by the outbreak of 1862, it has became the parent of other churches, in the valley of the upper Missouri, over one of which John Renville, a descendant of the elder at Lac-qui-Parle, is the pastor.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION ATTEMPTED.

Father Ravoux, recently from France, a sincere and earnest priest of the Church of Rome, came to Mendota in the autumn of 1841, and after a brief sojourn with the Rev. L. Galtier, who had erected Saint Paul's chapel, which has given the name of Saint Paul to the capital of Minnesota, he ascended the Minnesota River, and visited Lac-qui-Parle.

Bishop Loras, of Dubuque, wrote the next year of his visit as follows: "Our young missionary, M. Ravoux, passed the winter on the banks of Lac-qui-Parle, without any other support than Providence, without any other means of conversion than a burning zeal, he has wrought in the space of six months, a happy revolution among the Sioux. From the time of his arrival he has been occupied night and day in the study of their language. * * * * * When he instructs the savages, he speaks to them with so much fire whilst showing them a large copper crucifix which he carries on his breast, that he makes the strongest impression upon them."

The impression, however was evanescent, and he soon retired from the field, and no more efforts were made in this direction by the Church of Rome. This young Mr. Ravoux is now the highly respected vicar of the Roman Catholic diocese of Minnesota, and justly esteemed for his simplicity and unobtrusiveness.

CHIPPEWAY MISSIONS AT POKEGUMA.

Pokeguma is one of the "Mille Lacs," or thousand beautiful lakes for which Minnesota is remarkable. It is about four or five miles in extent, and a mile or more in width.

This lake is situated on Snake River, about twenty miles above the junction of that stream with the St. Croix.

In the year 1836, missionaries came to reside among the Ojibways and Pokeguma, to promote their temporal and spiritual welfare. Their mission house was built on the east side of the lake; but the Indian village was on an island not far from the shore.

In a letter written in 1837, we find the following: "The young women and girls now make, mend, wash, and iron after our manner. The men have learned to build log houses, drive team, plough, hoe, and handle an American axe with some skill in cutting large trees, the size of which, two years ago, would have afforded them a sufficient reason why they should not meddle with them."

In May, 1841, Jeremiah Russell, who was Indian farmer, sent two Chippeways, accompanied by Elam Greeley, of Stillwater, to the Falls of Saint Croix for supplies. On Saturday, the fifteenth of the month they arrived there, and

the next day a steamboat came up with the goods. The captain said a war party of Sioux, headed by Little Crow, was advancing, and the two Chippeways prepared to go back and were their friends.

They had hardly left the Falls, on their return, before they saw a party of Dahkotahs. The sentinel of the enemy had not noticed the approach of the young men. In the twinkling of an eye, these two young Ojibways raised their guns, fired, and killed two of Little Crow's sons. The discharge of the guns revealed to a sentinel, that an enemy was near, and as the Ojibways were retreating, he fired, and mortally wounded one of the two.

According to custom, the corpses of the chief's sons were dressed, and then set up with their faces towards the country of their ancient enemies. The wounded Ojibway was horribly mangled by the infuriated party, and his limbs strewn about in every direction. His scalped head was placed in a kettle, and suspended in front of the two Dahkotah corpses.

Little Crow, disheartened by the loss of his two boys, returned with his party to Kaposia. But other parties were in the field.

It was not till Friday, the twenty-first of May, that the death of one of the young Ojibways sent by Mr. Russell, to the Falls of Saint Croix, was known at Pokeguma.

Mr. Russell on the next Sunday, accompanied by Captain William Holcomb and a half-breed, went to the mission station to attend a religious service, and while crossing the lake in returning, the half-breed said that it was rumored that the Sioux were approaching. On Monday, the twenty-fourth, three young men left in a canoe to go to the west shore of the lake, and from thence to Mille Lacs, to give intelligence to the Ojibways there, of the skirmish that had already occurred. They took with them two Indian girls, about twelve years of age, who were pupils of the mission school, for the purpose of bringing the canoe back to the island. Just as the three were landing, twenty or thirty Dahkotah warriors, with a war whoop emerged from their concealment behind the trees, and fired into the canoe. The young men instantly sprang into the water, which was shallow, returned the fire, and ran into the woods, escaping without material injury.

The little girls, in their fright, waded into the lake; but were pursued. Their parents upon the island, heard the death cries of their children. Some of the Indians around the mission-house jumped into their canoes and gained the island. Others went into some fortified log huts. The attack upon the canoe, it was afterwards learned, was premature. The party upon that side of the lake were ordered not to fire, until the party stationed in the woods near the mission began.

There were in all one hundred and eleven Dahkotah warriors, and all the fight was in the vicinity of the mission-house, and the Ojibways mostly engaged in it were those who had been under religious instruction. The rest were upon the island.

The fathers of the murdered girls, burning for revenge, left the island in a canoe, and drawing it up on the shore, hid behind it, and fired upon the Dahkotahs and killed one. The Dahkotahs advancing upon them, they were obliged to escape. The canoe was now launched. One lay on his back in the bottom; the other plunged into the water, and, holding the canoe with one hand, and swimming with the other, he towed his friend out of danger. The Dahkotahs, infuriated at their escape, fired volley after volley at the swimmer, but he escaped the balls by putting his head under water whenever he saw them take aim, and waiting till he heard the discharge, he would then look up and breathe.

After a fight of two hours, the Dahkotahs retreated, with a loss of two men. At the request of the parents, Mr. E. F. Ely, from whose notes the writer has obtained these facts, being at that time a teacher at the mission, went across the lake, with two of his friends, to gather the remains of his murdered pupils. He found the corpses on the shore. The heads cut off and scalped, with a tomahawk buried in the brains of each, were set up in the sand near the bodies. The bodies were pierced in the breast, and the right arm of one was taken away. Removing the tomahawks, the bodies were brought back to the island, and in the afternoon were buried in accordance with the simple but solemn rites of the Church of Christ, by members of the mission.

The sequel to this story is soon told. The Indians of Pokeguma, after the fight, deserted their village, and went to reside with their countrymen near Lake Superior.

In July of the following year, 1842, a war party was formed at Fond du Lac, about forty in number, and proceeded towards the Dahkotah country. Sneaking, as none but Indians can, they arrived unnoticed at the little settlement below Saint Paul, commonly called "Pig's Eye," which is opposite to what was Kaposia, or Little Crow's village. Finding an Indian woman at work in the garden of her husband, a Canadian, by the name of Gamelle, they killed her; also another woman, with her infant, whose head was cut off. The Dahkotahs, on the opposite side, were mostly intoxicated; and, flying across in their canoes but half prepared, they were worsted in the encounter. They lost thirteen warriors, and one of their number, known as the Dancer, the Ojibways are said to have skinned.

Soon after this the Chippeway missions of the St. Croix Valley were abandoned.

In a little while Rev. Mr. Boutwell removed to the vicinity of Stillwater, and the missionaries, Ayer and Spencer, went to Red Lake and other points in Minnesota.

In 1853 the Rev. Sherman Hall left the Indians and became pastor of a Congregational church at Sauk Rapids, where he recently died.

METHODIST MISSIONS.

In 1837 the Rev. A. Brunson commenced a Methodist mission at Kaposia, about four miles below, and opposite Saint Paul. It was afterwards removed across the river to Red Rock. He was assisted by the Rev. Thomas W. Pope, and the latter was succeeded by the Rev. J. Holton.

The Rev. Mr. Spates and others also labored for a brief period among the Ojibways.

PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONS CONTINUED.

At the stations the Dahkotah language was diligently studied. Rev. S. W. Pond had prepared a dictionary of three thousand words, and also a small grammar. The Rev. S. R. Riggs, who joined the mission in 1837, in a letter dated February 24, 1841, writes: "Last summer, after returning from Fort Snelling, I spent five weeks in copying again the Sioux vocabulary which we had collected and arranged at this station. It contained then about 5500 words, not including the various forms of the verbs. Since that time, the words collected by Dr. Williamson and myself, have, I presume, increased the number to six thousand. * * * * * In this connection, I may mention that during the winter of 1839–40, Mrs. Riggs, with some assistance, wrote an English and Sioux vocabulary containing about three thousand words. One of Mr. Renville's sons and three of his daughters are engaged in copying. In committing the grammatical principles of the language to writing, we have done something at this station, but more has been done by Mr. S. W. Pond."

Steadily the number of Indian missionaries increased, and in 1851, before the lands of the Dahkotahs west of the Mississippi were ceded to the whites, they were disposed as follows by the Dahkotah Presbytery.

Lac-qui-parle, Rev. S. R. Riggs, Rev. M. N. Adams, *Missionaries*, Jonas Pettijohn, Mrs. Fanny Pettijohn, Mrs. Mary Ann Riggs, Mrs. Mary A. M. Adams, Miss Sarah Rankin, *Assistants*.

Traverse des Sioux, Rev. Robert Hopkins, *Missionary;* Mrs. Agnes Hopkins, Alexander G. Huggins, Mrs. Lydia P. Huggins, *Assistants*.

Shakpay, or *Shokpay*, Rev. Samuel W. Pond, *Missionary;* Mrs. Sarah P. Pond, *Assistant*.

Oak Grove, Rev. Gideon H. Pond and wife.

Kaposio, Rev. Thomas Williamson, M. D., *Missionary and Physician;* Mrs. Margaret P. Williamson, Miss Jane S. Williamson, *Assistants*.

Red Wing, Rev. John F. Aiton, Rev. Joseph W. Hancock, *Missionaries;* Mrs. Nancy H. Aiton, Mrs. Hancock, *Assistants*.

The Rev. Daniel Gavin, the Swiss Presbyterian Missionary, spent the winter of 1839 in Lacqui-Parle and was afterwards married to a niece of the Rev. J. D. Stevens, of the Lake Harriet Mission. Mr. Stevens became the farmer and teacher of the Wapashaw band, and the first white man who lived where the city of Winona has been built. Another missionary from Switzerland, the Rev. Mr. Denton, married a Miss Skinner, formerly of the Mackinaw mission. During a portion of the year 1839 these Swiss missionaries lived with the American missionaries at camp Cold Water near Fort Snelling, but their chief field of labor was at Red Wing.

CHAPTER XX.

TREAD OF PIONEERS IN THE SAINT CROIX VALLEY AND ELSEWHERE.

Origin of the name Saint Croix—Du Luth, first Explorer—French Post on the St. Croix—Pitt, an early pioneer—Early settlers at Saint Croix Falls—First women there—Marino Settlement—Joseph R. Brown's town site—Saint Croix County organized—Proprietors of Stillwater—A dead Negro woman—Pig's Eye, origin of name—Rise of Saint Paul—Dr. Williamson secures first school teacher for Saint Paul—Description of first school room—Saint Croix County re-organized—Rev. W. T. Boutwell, pioneer clergyman.

The Saint Croix river, according to Le Sueur, named after a Frenchman who was drowned at its mouth, was one of the earliest throughfares from Lake Superior to the Mississippi. The first white man who directed canoes upon its waters was Du Luth, who had in 1679 explored Minnesota. He thus describes his tour in a letter, first published by Harrisse: "In June, 1680, not being satisfied, with having made my discovery by land, I took two canoes, with an Indian who was my interpreter, and four Frenchmen, to seek means to make it by water. With this view I entered a river which empties eight leagues from the extremity of Lake Superior, on the south side, where, after having cut some trees and broken about a hundred beaver dams, I reached the upper waters of the said river, and then I made a portage of half a league to reach a lake, the outlet of which fell into a very fine river, which took me down into the Mississippi. There I learned from eight cabins of Nadouecioux that the Rev. Father Louis Hennepin, Recollect, now at the convent of Saint Germain, with two other Frenchmen had been robbed, and carried off as slaves for more than three hundred leagues by the Nadouecioux themselves."

He then relates how he left two Frenchmen with his goods, and went with his interpreter and two Frenchmen in a canoe down the Mississippi, and after two days and two nights, found Hennepin, Accault and Augelle. He told Hennepin that he must return with him through the country of the Fox tribe, and writes: "I preferred to retrace my steps, manifesting to them [the Sioux] the just indignation I felt against them, rather than to remain after the violence they had done to the Rev. Father and the other two Frenchmen with him, whom I put in my canoes and brought them to Michilimackinack."

After this, the Saint Croix river became a channel for commerce, and Bellin writes, that before 1755, the French had erected a fort forty leagues from its mouth and twenty from Lake Superior.

The pine forests between the Saint Croix and Minnesota had been for several years a temptation to energetic men. As early as November, 1836, a Mr. Pitt went with a boat and a party of men to the Falls of Saint Croix to cut pine timber, with the consent of the Chippeways but the dissent of the United States authorities.

In 1837 while the treaty was being made by Commissioners Dodge and Smith at Fort Snelling, on one Sunday Franklin Steele, Dr. Fitch, Jeremiah Russell, and a Mr. Maginnis left Fort Snelling for the Falls of Saint Croix in a birch bark canoe paddled by eight men, and reached that point about noon on Monday aud commenced a log cabin. Steele and Maginnis remained here, while the others, dividing into two parties, one under Fitch, and the other under Russell, searched for pine land. The first stopped at Sun Rise, while Russel went on to the Snake River. About the same time Robbinet and Jesse B. Taylor came to the Falls in the interest of B. F. Baker who had a stone trading house near Fort Snelling, since destroyed by fire. On the fifteenth of July, 1838, the Palmyra, Capt. Holland, arrived at the Fort, with the official notice of the ratification of the treaties ceding the lands between the Saint Croix and Mississippi.

She had on board C. A. Tuttle, L. W. Stratton and others, with the machinery for the projected mills of the Northwest Lumber Company at the Falls of Saint Croix, and reached that point on the seventeenth, the first steamboat to disturb the waters above Lake Saint Croix. The steamer Gypsy came to the fort on the twenty-first of

October, with goods for the Chippeways, and was chartered for four hundred and fifty dollars, to carry them up to the Falls of Saint Croix. In passing through the lake, the boat grounded near a projected town called Stambaughville, after S. C. Stambaugh, the sutler at the fort. On the afternoon of the 26th, the goods were landed, as stipulated.

The agent of the Improvement Company at the falls was Washington Libbey, who left in the fall of 1838, and was succeeded by Jeremiah Russell, Stratton acting as millwright in place of Calvin Tuttle. On the twelfth of December, Russell and Stratton walked down the river, cut the first tree and built a cabin at Marine, and sold their claim.

The first women at the Falls of Saint Croix were a Mrs. Orr, Mrs. Sackett, and the daughter of a Mr. Young. During the winter of 1838–9, Jeremiah Russell married a daughter of a respectable and gentlemanly trader, Charles H. Oakes.

Among the first preachers were the Rev. W. T. Boutwell and Mr. Seymour, of the Chippeway Mission at Pokeguma. The Rev. A. Brunson, of Prairie du Chien, who visited this region in 1838, wrote that at the mouth of Snake River he found Franklin Steele, with twenty-five or thirty men, cutting timber for a mill, and when he offered to preach Mr. Steele gave a cordial assent.

On the sixteenth of August, Mr. Steele, Livingston, and others, left the Falls of Saint Croix in a barge, and went around to Fort Snelling.

The steamboat Fayette about the middle of May, 1839, landed sutlers' stores at Fort Snelling and then proceeded with several persons of intelligence to the Saint Croix river, who settled at Marine.

The place was called after Marine in Madison county, Illinois, where the company, consisting of Judd, Hone and others, was formed to build a saw mill in the Saint Croix Valley. The mill at Marine commenced to saw lumber, on August 24, 1839, the first in Minnesota.

Joseph R. Brown, who since 1838, had lived at Chan Wakan, on the west side of Grey Cloud Island, this year made a claim near the upper end of the city of Stillwater, which he called Dahkotah, and was the first to raft lumber down the Saint Croix, as well as the first to represent the citizens of the valley in the legislature of Wisconsin.

Until the year 1841, the jurisdiction of Crawford county, Wisconsin, extended over the delta of country between the Saint Croix and Mississippi. Joseph R. Brown having been elected as representative of the county, in the territorial legislature of Wisconsin, succeeded in obtaining the passage of an act on November twentieth, 1841, organizing the county of Saint Croix, with Dahkotah designated as the county seat.

At the time prescribed for holding a court in the new county, it is said that the judge of the district arrived, and to his surprise, found a claim cabin occupied by a Frenchman. Speedily retreating, he never came again, and judicial proceedings for Saint Croix county ended for several years. Phineas Lawrence was the first sheriff of this county.

On the tenth of October, 1843, was commenced a settlement which has become the town of Stillwater. The names of the proprietors were John McKusick from Maine, Calvin Leach from Vermont, Elam Greeley from Maine, and Elias McKean from Pennsylvania. They immediately commenced the erection of a sawmill.

John H. Fonda, elected on the twenty-second of September, as coroner of Crawford county, Wisconsin, asserts that he was once notified that a dead body was lying in the water opposite Pig's Eye slough, and immediately proceeded to the spot, and on taking it out, recognized it as the body of a negro woman belonging to a certain captain of the United States army then at Fort Crawford. The body was cruelly cut and bruised, but no one appearing to recognise it, a verdict of "Found dead," was rendered, and the corpse was buried. Soon after, it came to light that the woman was whipped to death, and thrown into the river during the night.

The year that the Dahkotahs ceded their lands east of the Mississippi, a Canadian Frenchman by the name of Parrant, the ideal of an Indian whisky seller, erected a shanty in what is now the city of Saint Paul. Ignorant and overbearing he loved money more than his own soul. Destitute of one eye, and the other resembling that of a pig, he was a good representative of Caliban. Some one writing from his groggery designated it as "Pig's Eye." The reply to the letter was directed in good faith to "Pig's Eye"

Some years ago the editor of the Saint Paul Press described the occasion in these words:

"Edmund Brisette, a clerkly Frenchman for those days, who lives, or did live a little while ago, on Lake Harriet, was one day seated at a table in Parrant's cabin, with pen and paper about to write a letter for Parrant (for Parrant, like Charlemagre, could not write) to a friend of the latter in Canada. The question of geography puzzled Brissette at the outset of the epistle; where should he date a letter from a place without a name? He looked up inquiringly to Parrant, and met the dead, cold glare of the Pig's Eye fixed upon him, with an irresistible suggestiveness that was inspiration to Brisette."

In 1842, the late Henry Jackson, of Mahkahto, settled at the same spot, and erected the first store on the height just above the lower landing, Roberts and Simpson followed, and opened small Indian trading shops. In 1846, the site of Saint Paul was chiefly occupied by a few shanties owned by "certain lewd fellows of the baser sort," who sold rum to the soldier and Indian. It was despised by all decent white men, and known to the Dahkotahs by an expression in their tongue which means, the place where they sell minne-wakan [supernatural water].

The chief of the Kaposia band in 1846, was shot by his own brother in a drunken revel, but surviving the wound, and apparently alarmed at the deterioration under the influence of the modern harpies at Saint Paul, went to Mr. Bruce, Indian Agent, at Fort Snelling, and requested a missionary. The Indian Agent in his report to government, says:

"The chief of the Little Crow's band, who resides below this place (Fort Snelling) about nine miles, in the immediate neighbourhood of the whiskey dealers, has requested to have a school established at his village. He says they are determined to reform, and for the future, will try to do better. I wrote to Doctor Williamson soon after the request was made, desiring him to take charge of the school. He has had charge of the mission school at Lac qui Parle for some years; is well qualified, and is an excellent physician."

In November, 1846, Dr. Williamson came from Lac qui Parle, as requested, and became a resident of Kaposia. While disapproving of their practices, he felt a kindly interest in the whites of Pig's Eye, which place was now beginning to be called, after a little log chapel which had been erected at the suggestion of Rev. L. Galtier, and called Saint Paul's. Though a missionary among the Dahkotahs, he was the first to take steps to promote the education of the whites and half-breeds of Minnesota. In the year 1847, he wrote to ex-Governor Slade, President of the National Popular Education Society, in relation to the condition of what has subsequently become the capital of the state.

In accordance with his request, Miss H. E. Bishop came to his mission-house at Kaposia, and, after a short time, was introduced by him to the citizens of Saint Paul. The first school-house in Minnesota besides those connected with the Indian missions, stood near the site of the old Brick Presbyterian church, corner of Saint Peter and Third street, and is thus described by the teacher:

"The school was commenced in a little log hovel, covered with bark, and chinked with mud, previously used as a blacksmith shop. On three sides of the interior of this humble log cabin, pegs were driven into the logs, upon which boards were laid for seats. Another seat was made by placing one end of a plank between the cracks of the logs, and the other upon a chair. This was for visitors. A rickety cross-legged table in the centre, and a hen's nest in one corner, completed the furniture."

Saint Croix county, in the year 1847, was detached from Crawford county, Wisconsin, and reorganized for judicial purposes, and Stillwater made the county seat. In the month of June the United States District Court held its session in the store-room of Mr. John McKusick; Judge Charles Dunn presiding. A large number of lumbermen had been attracted by the pineries in the upper portion of the valley of Saint Croix, and Stillwater was looked upon as the center of the lumbering interest.

The Rev. Mr. Boutwell, feeling that he could be more useful, left the Ojibways, and took up his residence near Stillwater, preaching to the lumbermen at the Falls of Saint Croix, Marine Mills, Stillwater, and Cottage Grove. In a letter speaking of Stillwater, he says, "Here is a little village sprung up like a gourd, but whether it is to perish as soon, God only knows."

CHAPTER XXI.

EVENTS PRELIMINARY TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE MINNESOTA TERRITORY.

Wisconsin State Boundaries—First Bill for the Organization of Minnesota Territory, A. D. 1846—Change of Wisconsin Boundary—Memorial of Saint Croix Valley citizens—Various names proposed for the New Territory—Convention at Stillwater—H. H. Sibley elected Delegate to Congress.—Derivation of word Minnesota.

Three years elapsed from the time that the territory of Minnesota was proposed in Congress, to the final passage of the organic act. On the sixth of August, 1846, an act was passed by Congress authorizing the citizens of Wisconsin Territory to frame a constitution and form a state government. The act fixed the Saint Louis river to the rapids, from thence south to the Saint Croix, and thence down that river to its junction with the Mississippi, as the western bonndary.

On the twenty-third of December, 1846, the delegate from Wisconsin, Morgan L. Martin, introduced a bill in Congress for the organization of a territory of Minnesota. This bill made its western boundary the Sioux and Red River of the North. On the third of March, 1847, permission was granted to Wisconsin to change her boundary, so that the western limit would proceed due south from the first rapids of the Saint Louis river, and fifteen miles east of the most easterly point of Lake Saint Croix, thence to the Mississippi.

A number in the constitutional convention of Wisconsin, were anxious that Rum river should be a part of her western boundary, while citizens of the valley of the Saint Croix were desirous that the Chippeway river should be the limit of Wisconsin. The citizens of Wisconsin Territory, in the valley of the Saint Croix, and about Fort Snelling, wished to be included in the projected new territory, and on the twenty-eighth of March, 1848, a memorial signed by H. H. Sibley, Henry M. Rice, Franklin Steele, William R. Marshall, and others, was presented to Congress, remonstrating against the proposition before the convention to make Rum river a part of the boundary line of the contemplated state of Wisconsin.

On the twenty-ninth of May, 1848, the act to admit Wisconsin changed the boundary line to the present, and as first defined in the enabling act of 1846. After the bill of Mr. Martin was introduced into the House of Representatives in 1846 it was referred to the Committee on Territories, of which Mr. Douglas was chairman. On the twentieth of January, 1847, he reported in favor of the proposed territory with the name of Itasca. On the seventeenth of February, before the bill passed the House, a discussion arose in relation to the proposed name. Mr. Winthrop of Massachusetts proposed Chippewa as a substitute, alleging that this tribe was the principal in the proposed territory, which was not correct. Mr. J. Thompson of Mississippi disliked all Indian names, and hoped the territory would be called Jackson. Mr. Houston of Delaware thought that there ought to be one territory named after the "Father of his country," and proposed Washington. All of the names proposed were rejected, and the name in the original bill inserted. On the last day of the session, March third, the bill was called up in the Senate and laid on the table.

When Wisconsin became a state the query arose whether the old territorial government did not continue in force west of the Saint Croix river. The first meeting on the subject of claiming territorial privileges was held in the building at Saint Paul, known as Jackson's store, near the corner of Bench and Jackson streets, on the bluff. This meeting was held in July, and a convention was proposed to consider their position. The first public meeting was held at Stillwater on August fourth, and Messrs. Steele and Sibley were the only persons present from the west side of the Mississippi. This meeting issued a call for a general convention to take steps to secure an early territorial organization, to assemble on the twenty-sixth of the month at

the same place. Sixty-two delegates answered the call, and among those present, were W. D. Phillips, J. W. Bass, A. Larpenteur, J. M. Boal, and others from Saint Paul. To the convention a letter was presented from Mr. Catlin, who claimed to be acting governor, giving his opinion that the Wisconsin territorial organization was still in force. The meeting also appointed Mr. Sibley to visit Washington and represent their views; but the Hon. John H. Tweedy having resigned his office of delegate to Congress on September eighteenth, 1848, Mr. Catlin, who had made Stillwater a temporary residence, on the ninth of October issued a proclamation ordering a special election at Stillwater on the thirtieth, to fill a vacancy occasioned by the resignation. At this election Henry H. Sibley was elected as delegate of the citizens of the remaining portion of Wisconsin Territory. His credentials were presented to the House of Representatives, and the committee to whom the matter was referred presented a majority and minority report; but the resolution introduced by the majority passed and Mr. Sibley took his seat as a delegate from Wisconsin Territory on the fifteenth of January, 1849.

Mr. H. M. Rice, and other gentlemen, visited Washington during the winter, and, uniting with Mr. Sibley, used all their energies to obtain the organization of a new territory.

Mr. Sibley, in an interesting communication to the Minnesota Historical Society, writes: "When my credentials as Delegate, were presented by Hon. James Wilson, of New Hampshire, to the House of Representatives, there was some curiosity manifested among the members, to see what kind of a person had been elected to represent the distant and wild territory claiming representation in Congress. I was told by a New England member with whom I became subsequently quite intimate, that there was some disappointment when I made my appearance, for it was expected that the delegate from this remote region would make his debut, if not in full Indian costume, at least, with some peculiarities of dress and manners, characteristic of the rude and semi-civilized people who had sent him to the Capitol."

The territory of Minnesota was named after the largest tributary of the Mississippi within its limits. The Sioux call the Missouri Minnesho-shay, muddy water, but the stream after which this region is named, Minne-sota. Some say that Sota means clear; others, turbid; Schoolcraft, bluish green. Nicollet wrote. "The adjective Sotah is of difficult translation. The Canadians translated it by a pretty equivalent word, brouille, perhaps more properly rendered into English by blear. I have entered upon this explanation be cause the word really means neither clear nor turbid, as some authors have asserted, its true meaning being found in the Sioux expression Ishtah-sotah, blear-eyed." From the fact that the word signifies neither blue nor white, but the peculiar appearance of the sky at certain times, by some, Minnesota has been defined to mean the sky tinted water, which is certainly poetic, and the late Rev. Gideon H. Pond thought quite correct.

CHAPTER XXII.

MINNESOTA FROM ITS ORGANIZATION AS A TERRITORY, A. D. 1849, TO A. D. 1854.

Appearance of the Country, A. D. 1849 — Arrival of first Editor — Governor Ramsey arrives — Gnest of H. H. Sibley — Proclamation issued — Governor Ramsey and H. M. Rice move to Saint Paul—Fourth of July Celebration—First election—Early newspapers—First Courts—First Legislature—Pioneer News Carrier's Address—Wedding at Fort Snelling—Territorial Seal—Scalp Dance at Stillwater—First Steamboat at Falls of Saint Anthony—Presbyterian Chapel burned—Indian council at Fort Snelling—First Steamboat above Saint Anthony—First boat at the Blue Earth River—Congressional election—Visit of Fredrika Bremer—Indian newspaper—Other newspapers—Second Legislature—University of Minnesota—Teamster killed by Indians—Sioux Treaties—Third Legislature—Land slide at Stillwater—Death of first Editor—Fourth Legislature Baldwin School, now Macalester College—Indian fight in Saint Paul.

On the third of March, 1849, the bill was passed by Congress for organizing the territory of Minnesota, whose boundary on the west, extended to the Missouri River. At this time, the region was little more than a wilderness. The west bank of the Mississippi, from the Iowa line to Lake Itasca, was unceded by the Indians.

At Wapashaw, was a trading post in charge of Alexis Bailly, and here also resided the ancient voyageur, of fourscore years, A. Rocque.

At the foot of Lake Pepin was a store house kept by Mr. F. S. Richards. On the west shore of the lake lived the eccentric Wells, whose wife was a bois brule, a daughter of the deceased trader, Duncan Graham.

The two unfinished buildings of stone, on the beautiful bank opposite the renowned Maiden's Rock, and the surrounding skin lodges of his wife's relatives and friends, presented a rude but picturesque scene. Above the lake was a cluster of bark wigwams, the Dahkotah village of Raymneecha, now Red Wing, at which was a Presbyterian mission house.

The next settlement was Kaposia, also an Indian village, and the residencc of a Presbyterian missionary, the Rev. T. S. Williamson, M. D. On the east side of the Mississippi, the first settlement, at the mouth of the St. Croix, was Point Douglas, then as now, a small hamlet.

At Red Rock, the site of a former Methodist mission station, there were a few farmers. Saint Paul was just emerging from a collection of Indian whisky shops and birch roofed cabins of half-breed voyageurs. Here and there a frame tenement was erected, and, under the auspices of the Hon. H. M. Rice, who had obtained an interest in the town, some warehouses were constructed, and the foundations of the American House, a frame hotel, which stood at Third and Exchange street, were laid. In 1849, the population had increased to two hundred and fifty or three hundred inhabitants, for rumors had gone abroad that it might be mentioned in the act, creating the territory, as the capital of Minnesota. More than a month after the adjournment of Congress, just at eve, on the ninth of April, amid terrific peals of thunder and torrents of rain, the weekly steam packet, the first to force its way through the icy barrier of Lake Pepin, rounded the rocky point whistling loud and long, as if the bearer of glad tidings. Before she was safely moored to the landing, the shouts of the excited villagers were heard announcing that there was a territory of Minnesota, and that Saint Paul was the seat of government.

Every successive steamboat arrival poured out on the landing men big with hope, and anxious to do something to mould the future of the new state.

Nine days after the news of the existence of the territory of Minnesota was received, there arrived James M. Goodhue with press, type, and printing apparatus. A graduate of Amherst college, and a lawyer by profession, he wielded a sharp pen, and wrote editorials, which, more than anything else, perhaps, induced immigration. Though a man of some faults, one of the counties properly bears his name. On the twenty-eighth of April, he issued from his press the first number of the Pioneer.

On the twenty-seventh of May, Alexander Ramsey, the Governor, and family, arrived at Saint Paul, but owing to the crowded state of pub-

lic houses, immediately proceeded in the steamer to the establishment of the Fur Company, known as Mendota, at the junction of the Minnesota and Mississippi, and became the guest of the Hon. H. H. Sibley.

On the first of June, Governor Ramsey, by proclamation, declared the territory duly organized, with the following officers: Alexander Ramsey, of Pennsylvania, Governor; C. K. Smith, of Ohio, Secretary; A. Goodrich, of Tennessee, Chief Justice; D. Cooper, of Pennsylvania, and B. B. Meeker, of Kentucky, Associate Judges; Joshua L. Taylor, Marshal; H. L. Moss, attorney of the United States.

On the eleventh of June, a second proclamation was issued, dividing the territory into three temporary judicial districts. The first comprised the county of St. Croix; the county of La Pointe and the region north and west of the Mississippi, and north of the Minnesota and of a line running due west from the headwaters of the Minnesota to the Missouri river, constituted the second; and the country west of the Mississippi and south of the Minnesota, formed the third district. Judge Goodrich was assigned to the first, Meeker to the second, and Cooper to the third. A court was ordered to be held at Stillwater on the second Monday, at the Falls of St. Anthony on the third, and at Mendota on the fourth Monday of August.

Until the twenty-sixth of June, Governor Ramsey and family had been guests of Hon. H. H. Sibley, at Mendota. On the afternoon of that day they arrived at St. Paul, in a birch-bark canoe, and became permanent residents at the capital. The house first occupied as a gubernatorial mansion, was a small frame building that stood on Third, between Robert and Jackson streets, formerly known as the New England House.

A few days after, the Hon. H. M. Rice and family moved from Mendota to St. Paul, and occupied the house he had erected on St. Anthony street, near the corner of Market.

On the first of July, a land office was established at Stillwater, and A. Van Vorhes, after a few weeks, became the register.

The anniversary of our National Independence was celebrated in a becoming manner at the capital. The place selected for the address, was a grove that stood on the sites of the City Hall and the Baldwin School building, and the late Franklin Steele was the marshal of the day.

On the seventh of July, a proclamation was issued, dividing the territory into seven council districts, and ordering an election to be held on the first day of August, for one delegate to represent the people in the House of Representatives of the United States, for nine councillors and eighteen representatives, to constitute the Legislative Assembly of Minnesota.

In this month, the Hon. H. M. Rice despatched a boat laded with Indian goods from the the Falls of St. Anthony to Crow Wing, which was towed by horses after the manner of a canal boat.

The election on the first of August, passed off with little excitement, Hon. H, H. Sibley being elected delegate to Congress without opposition. David Lambert, on what might, perhaps, be termed the old settlers' ticket, was defeated in St. Paul, by James M. Boal. The latter, on the night of the election, was honored with a ride through town on the axle and fore-wheels of an old wagon, which was drawn by his admiring but somewhat undisciplined friends.

J. L. Taylor having declined the office of United States Marshal; A. M. Mitchell, of Ohio, a graduate of West Point, and colonel of a regiment of Ohio volunteers in the Mexican war, was appointed and arrived at the capital early in August.

There were three papers published in the territory soon after its organization. The first was the Pioneer, issued on April twenty-eighth, 1849, under most discouraging circumstances. It was at first the intention of the witty and reckless editor to have called his paper "The Epistle of St. Paul." About the same time there was issued in Cincinnati, under the auspices of the late Dr. A. Randall, of California, the first number of the Register. The second number of the paper was printed at St. Paul, in July, and the office was on St. Anthony, between Washington and Market Streets, About the first of June, James Hughes, afterward of Hudson, Wisconsin, arrived with a press and materials, and established the Minnesota Chronicle. After an existence of a few weeks two papers were discontinued; and, in their place, was issued the "Chronicle and

Register," edited by Nathaiel McLean and John P. Owens.

The first courts, pursuant to proclamation of the governor, were held in the month of August. At Stillwater, the court was organized on the thirteenth of the month, Judge Goodrich presiding, and Judge Cooper by courtesy, sitting on the bench. On the twentieth, the second judicial district held a court. The room used was the old government mill at Minneapolis. The presiding judge was B. B. Meeker; the foreman of the grand jury, Franklin Steele. On the last Monday of the month, the court for the third judicial district was organized in the large stone warehouse of the fur company at Mendota. The presiding judge was David Cooper. Governor Ramsey sat on the right, and Judge Goodrich on the left. Hon. H. H. Sibley was the foreman of the grand jury. As some of the jurors could not speak the English language, W. H. Forbes acted as interpreter. The charge of Judge Cooper was lucid, scho'arly, and dignified. At the request of the grand jury it was afterwards published.

On Monday, the third of September, the first Legislative Assembly convened in the "Central Hou-," in Saint Paul, a building at the corner of Minnesota and Bench streets, facing the Mississippi river which answered the double purpose of capitol and hotel. On the first floor of the main building was the Secretary's office and Representative chamber, and in the second story was the library and Council chamber. As the flag was run up the staff in front of the house, a number of Indians sat on a rocky bluff in the vicinity, and gazed at what to them was a novel and perhaps saddening scene; for if the tide of immigration sweeps in from the Pacific as it has from the Atlantic coast, they must soon dwindle.

The legislature having organized, elected the following permanent officers: David Olmsted, President of Council; Joseph R. Brown, Secretary; H. A. Lambert, Assistant. In the House of Representatives, Joseph W. Furber was elected Speaker: W. D. Phillips, Clerk: L. B. Wait, Assistant.

On Tuesday afternoon, both houses assembled in the dining hall of the hotel, and after prayer was offered by Rev. E. D. Neill, Governor Ramsey delivered his message. The message was ably written, and its perusal afforded satisfaction at home and abroad.

The first session of the legislature adjourned on the first of November. Among other proceedings of interest, was the creation of the following counties: Itasca, Wapashaw, Dahkotah, Wahnahtah, Mahkahto, Pembina, Washington, Ramsey and Benton. The three latter counties comprised the country that up to that time had been ceded by the Indians on the east side of the Mississippi, Stillwater was declared the county seat of Washington, Saint Paul, of Ramsey, and "the seat of justice of the county of Benton was to be within one-quarter of a mile of a point on the east side of the Mississippi, directly opposite the mouth of Sauk river."

EVENTS OF A. D 1850.

By the active exertions of the secretary of the territory, C. K. Smith, Esq., the Historical Society of Minnesota was incorporated at the first session of the legislature. The opening annual address was delivered in the then Methodist (now Swedenborgian) church at Saint Paul, on the first of January, 1850.

The following account of the proceedings is from the Chronicle and Register. "The first public exercises of the Minnesota Historical Society, took place at the Methodist church, Saint Paul, on the first inst., and passed off highly creditable to all concerned. The day was pleasant and the attendance large. At the appointed hour, the President and both Vice-Presidents of the society being absent; on motion of Hon. C. K. Smith, Hon. Chief Justice Goodrich was called to the chair. The same gentleman then moved that a committee, consisting of Messrs. Parsons K. Johnson, John A. Wakefield, and B. W. Brunson, be appointed to wait upon the Orator of the day, Rev. Mr. Neill, and inform him that the audience was waiting to hear his address.

"Mr. Neill was shortly conducted to the pulpit; and after an eloquent and approriate prayer by the Rev. Mr. Parsons, and music by the band, he proceeded to deliver his discourse upon the early French missionaries and Voyageurs into Minnesota. We hope the society will provide for its publication at an early day.

"After some brief remarks by Rev. Mr.

Hobart, upon the objects and ends of history, the ceremonies were concluded with a prayer by that gentleman. The audience dispersed highly delighted with all that occurred."

At this early period the Minnesota Pioneer issued a Carrier's New Year's Address, which was amusing doggerel. The reference to the future greatness and ignoble origin of the capital of Minnesota was as follows:—

The cities on this river must be three,
Two that *are* built and one that is to be.
One, is the mart of all the tropics yield,
The cane, the orange, and the cotton-field,
And sends her ships abroad and boasts
Her trade extended to a thousand coasts;
The *other*, central for the temperate zone,
Garners the stores that on the plains are grown,
A place where steamboats from all quarters, range,
To meet and speculate, as 'twere on 'change.
The *third will be*, where rivers confluent flow
From the wide spreading north through plains of snow;
The mart of all that boundless forests give
To make mankind more comfortably live,
The land of manufacturing industry,
The workshop of the nation it shall be.
Propelled by *this* wide stream, you'll see
A thousand factories at Saint Anthony:
And the Saint Croix a hundred mills shall drive,
And all its smiling villages shall thrive;
But then *my* town—remember that high bench
With cabins scattered over it, of French?
A man named Henry Jackson's living there,
Also a man—why every one knows L. Robair,
Below Fort Snelling, seven miles or so,
And three above the village of Old Crow?
Pig's Eye? Yes; Pig's Eye! That's the spot!
A very funny name; is't not?
Pig's Eye's the spot, to plant my city on,
To be remembered by, when I am gone.
Pig's Eye converted thou shalt be, like Saul:
Thy name henceforth *shall* be Saint Paul.

On the evening of New Year's day, at Fort Snelling, there was an assemblage which is only seen on the outposts of civilization. In one of the stone edifices, outside of the wall, belonging to the United States, there resided a gentleman who had dwelt in Minnesota since the year 1819, and for many years had been in the employ of the government, as Indian interpreter. In youth he had been a member of the Columbia Fur Company, and conforming to the habits of traders, had purchased a Dahkotah wife who was wholly ignorant of the English language. As a family of children gathered around him he recognised the relation of husband and father, and conscientiously discharged his duties as a parent. His daughter at a proper age was sent to a boarding school of some celebrity, and on the night referred to was married to an intelligent young American farmer. Among the guests present were the officers of the garrison in full uniform, with their wives, the United States Agent for the Dahkotahs, and family, the bois brules of the neighborhood, and the Indian relatives of the mother. The mother did not make her appearance, but, as the minister proceeded with the ceremony, the Dahkotah relatives, wrapped in their blankets, gathered in the hall and looked in through the door.

The marriage feast was worthy of the occasion. In consequence of the numbers, the officers and those of European extraction partook first; then the bois brules of Ojibway and Dahkotah descent; and, finally, the native Americans, who did ample justice to the plentiful supply spread before them.

Governor Ramsey, Hon. H. H. Sibley, and the delegate to Congress devised at Washington, this winter, the territorial seal. The design was Falls of St. Anthony in the distance. An immigrant ploughing the land on the borders of the Indian country, full of hope, and looking forward to the possession of the hunting grounds beyond. An Indian, amazed at the sight of the plough, and fleeing on horseback towards the setting sun.

The motto of the Earl of Dunraven, "Quæ sursum volo videre". (I wish to see what is above) was most appropriately selected by Mr. Sibley, but by the blunder of an engraver it appeared on the territorial seal, "Quo sursum velo videre," which no scholar could translate. At length was substituted, "L' Etoile du Nord," "Star of the North," while the device of the setting sun remained, and this is objectionable, as the State of Maine had already placed the North Star on her escutcheon, with the motto "Dirigo," "I guide." Perhaps some future legislature may

direct the first motto to be restored and correctly engraved.

In the montn of April, there was a renewal of hostilities between the Dahkotahs and Ojibways, on lands that had been ceded to the United States. A war prophet at Red Wing, dreamed that he ought to raise a war party. . Announcing the fact, a number expressed their willingness to go on such an expedition. Several from the Kaposia village also joined the party, under the leadership of a worthless Indian, who had been confined in the guard-house at Fort Snelling, the year previous, for scalping his wife.

Passing up the valley of the St. Croix, a rew miles above Stillwater the party discovered on the snow the marks of a keg and footprints. These told them that a man and woman of the Ojibways had been to some whisky dealer's, and were returning. Following their trail, they found on Apple river, about twenty miles from Stillwater, a band of Ojibways encamped in one lodge. Waiting till daybreak of Wednesday, April second, the Dahkotahs commenced firing on the unsuspecting inmates, some of whom were drinking from the contents of the whisky keg. The camp was composed of fifteen, and all were murdered and scalped, with the exception of a lad, who was made a captive.

On Thursday, the victors came to Stillwater, and danced the scalp dance around the captive boy, in the heat of excitement, striking him in the face with the scarcely cold and bloody scalps of his relatives. The child was then taken to Kaposia, and adopted by the chief. Governor Ramsey immediately took measures to send the boy to his friends. At a conference held at the Governor's mansion, the boy was delivered up, and, on being led out to the kitchen by a little son of the Governor, since deceased, to receive refreshments, he cried bitterly, seemingly more alarmed at being left with the whites than he had been while a captive at Kaposia.

From the first of April the waters of the Mississippi began to rise, and on the thirteenth, the lower floor of the warehouse, then occupied by William Constans, at the foot of Jackson street, St. Paul, was submerged. Taking advantage of the freshet, the steamboat Anthony Wayne, for a purse of two hundred dollars, ventured through the swift current above Fort Snelling, and reached the Falls of St. Anthony. The boat loft the fort after dinner, with Governor Ramsey and other guests, also the band of the Sixth Regiment on board, and reached the falls between three and four o'clock in the afternoon. The whole town, men, women and children, lined the shore as the boat approached, and welcomed this first arrival, with shouts and waving handkerchiefs.

On the afternoon of May fifteenth, there might have been seen, hurrying through the streets of Saint Paul, a number of naked and painted braves of the Kaposia band of Dahkotahs, ornamented with all the attire of war, and panting for the scalps of their enemies. A few hours before, the warlike head chief of the Ojibways, young Hole-in-the-Day, having secreted his canoe in the retired gorge which leads to the cave in the upper suburbs, with two or three associates had crossed the river, and, almost in sight of the citizens of the town, had attacked a small party of Dahkotahs, and murdered and scalped one man. On receipt of the news, Governor Ramsey granted a parole to the thirteen Dahkotahs confined in Fort Snelling, for participating in the Apple river massacre.

On the morning of the sixteenth of May, the first Protestant church edifice completed in the white settlements, a small frame building, built for the Presbyterian church, at Saint Paul, was destroyed by fire, it being the first conflagration that had occurred since the organization of the territory.

One of the most interesting events of the year 1850, was the Indian council, at Fort Snelling. Governor Ramsey had sent runners to the different bands of the Ojibways and Dahkotahs, to meet him at the fort, for the purpose of endeavouring to adjust their difficulties.

On Wednesday, the twelfth of June, after much talking, as is customary at Indian councils, the two tribes agreed as they had frequently done before, to be friendly, and Governor Ramsey presenting to each party an ox. the council was dissolved.

On Thursday, the Ojibways visited St. Paul for the first time, young Hole-in-the-Day being dressed in a coat of a captain of United States infantry, which had been presented to him at the fort. On Friday, they left in the steamer Governor Ramsey, which had been built at St. Anthony, and just commenced running between

that point and Sauk Rapids, for their homes in the wilderness of the Upper Mississippi.

The summer of 1850 was the commencement of the navigation of the Minnesota River by steamboats. With the exception of a steamer that made a pleasure excursion as far as Shokpay, in 1841, no large vessels had ever disturbed the waters of this stream. In June, the "Anthony Wayne," which a few weeks before had ascended to the Falls of St. Anthony, made a trip. On the eighteenth of July she made a second trip, going almost to Mahkahto. The "Nominee" also navigated the stream for some distance.

On the twenty-second of July the officers of the "Yankee," taking advantage of the high water, determined to navigate the stream as far as possible. The boat ascended to near the Cottonwood river.

As the time for the general election in September approached, considerable excitement was manifested. As there were no political issues before the people, parties were formed based on personal preferences. Among those nominated for delegate to Congress, by various meetings, were H. H. Sibley, the former delegate to Congress, David Olmsted, at that time engaged in the Indian trade, and A. M. Mitchell, the United States marshal. Mr. Olmsted withdrew his name before election day, and the contest was between those interested in Sibley and Mitchell. The friends of each betrayed the greatest zeal, and neither pains nor money were spared to insure success. Mr. Sibley was elected by a small majority. For the first time in the territory, soldiers at the garrisons voted at this election, and there was considerable discussion as to the propriety of such a course.

Miss Fredrika Bremer, the well known Swedish novelist, visited Minnesota in the month of October, and was the guest of Governor Ramsey.

During November, the Dahkotah Tawaxitku Kin, or the Dahkotah Friend, a monthly paper, was commenced, one-half in the Dahkotah and one-half in the English language. Its editor was the Rev. Gideon H. Pond, a Presbyterian missionary, and its place of publication at Saint Paul. It was published for nearly two years, and, though it failed to attract the attention of the Indian mind, it conveyed to the English reader much correct information in relation to the habits, the belief, and superstitions, of the Dahkotahs.

On the tenth of December, a new paper, owned and edited by Daniel A. Robertson, late United States marshal, of Ohio, and called the Minnesota Democrat, made its appearance.

During the summer there had been changes in the editorial supervision of the "Chronicle and Register." For a brief period it was edited by L. A. Babcock, Esq., who was succeeded by W. G. Le Duc.

About the time of the issuing of the Democrat, C. J. Henniss, formerly reporter for the United States Gazette, Philadelphia, became the editor of the Chronicle.

The first proclamation for a thanksgiving day was issued in 1850 by the governor, and the twenty-sixth of December was the time appointed and it was generally observed.

EVENTS OF A. D. 1851.

On Wednesday, January first, 1851, the second Legislative Assembly assembled in a three-story brick building, since destroyed by fire, that stood on St. Anthony street, between Washington and Franklin. D. B. Loomis was chosen Speaker of the Council, and M. E. Ames Speaker of the House. This assembly was characterized by more bitterness of feeling than any that has since convened. The preceding delegate election had been based on personal preferences, and cliques and factions manifested themselves at an early period of the session.

The locating of the penitentiary at Stillwater, and the capitol building at St. Paul gave some dissatisfaction. By the efforts of J. W. North, Esq., a bill creating the University of Minnesota at or near the Falls of St. Anthony, was passed, and signed by the Governor. This institution, by the State Constitution, is now the State University.

During the session of this Legislature, the publication of the "Chronicle and Register" ceased.

About the middle of May, a war party of Dahkotahs discovered near Swan River, an Ojibway with a keg of whisky. The latter escaped, with the loss of his keg. The war party, drinking the contents, became intoxicated, and, firing upon some teamrters they met driving their wagons with goods to the Indian Agency, killed one of

them, Andrew Swartz, a resident of St. Paul. The news was conveyed to Fort Ripley, and a party of soldiers, with Hole-in-the-Day as a guide, started in pursuit of the murderers, but did not succeed in capturing them. Through the influence of Little Six the Dahkotah chief, whose village was at (and named after him) Shokpay, five of the offienders were arrested and placed in the guard-house at Fort Snelling. On Monday, June ninth, they left the fort in a wagon, guarded by twenty-five dragoons, destined for Sauk Rapids for trial. As they departed they all sang their death song, and the coarse soldiers amused themselves by making signs that they were going to be hung. On the first evening of the journey the five culprits encamped with the twenty-five dragoons. Handcuffed, they were placed in the tent, and yet at midnight they all escaped, only one being wounded by the guard. What was more remarkable, the wounded man was the first to bring the news to St. Paul. Proceeding to Kaposia, his wound was examined by the missionary and physician, Dr. Williamson; and then, fearing an arrest, he took a canoe and paddled up the Minnesota. The excuse offered by the dragoons was, that all the guard but one fell asleep.

The first paper published in Minnesota, beyond the capital, was the St. Anthony Express, which made its appearance during the last week of April or May.

The most important event of the year 1851 was the treaty with the Dahkotahs, by which the west side of the Mississippi and the valley of the Minnesota River were opened to the hardy immigrant. The commissioners on the part of the United States were Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and Governor Ramsey. The place of meeting for the upper bands was Traverse des Sioux. The commission arrived there on the last of June, but were obliged to wait many days for the assembling of the various bands of Dahkotahs.

On the eighteenth of July, all those expected having arrived, the Sissetoans and Wahpaytoan Dahkotahs assembled in grand council with the United States commissioners. After the usual feastings and speeches, a treaty was concluded on Wednesday, July twenty-third. The pipe having been smoked by the commissioners, Lea and Ramsey, it was passed to the chiefs. The paper containing the treaty was then read in English and translated into the Dahkotah by the Rev. S. R. Riggs, Presbyterian Missionary among this people. This finished, the chiefs came up to the secretary's table and touched the pen; the white men present then witnessed the document, and nothing remained but the ratification of the United States Senate to open that vast country for the residence of the hardy immigrant.

During the first week in August, a treaty was also concluded beneath an oak bower, on Pilot Knob, Mendota, with the M'dewakantonwan and Wahpaykootay bands of Dahkotahs. About sixty of the chiefs and principal men touched the pen, and Little Crow, who had been in the mission-school at Lac qui Parle, signed his own name. Before they separated, Colonel Lea and Governor Ramsey gave them a few words of advice on various subjects connected with their future well-being, but particularly on the subject of education and temperance. The treaty was interpreted to them by the Rev. G. H. Pond, a gentleman who was conceded to be a most correct speaker of the Dahkotah tongue.

The day after the treaty these lower bands received thirty thousand dollars, which, by the treaty of 1837, was set apart for education; but, by the misrepresentations of interested half-breeds, the Indians were made to believe that it ought to be given to them to be employed as they pleased.

The next week, with their sacks filled with money, they thronged the streets of St. Paul, purchasing whatever pleased their fancy.

On the seventeenth of September, a new paper was commenced in St. Paul, under the auspices of the "Whigs," and John P. Owens became editor, which relation he sustained until the fall of 1857.

The election for members of the legislature and county officers occurred on the fourteenth of October; and, for the first time, a regular Democratic ticket was placed before the people. The parties called themselves Democratic and Anti-organization, or Coalition.

In the month of November Jerome Fuller arrived, and took the place of Judge Goodrich as Chief Justice of Minnesota, who was removed; and, about the same time, Alexander Wilkin was

appointed secretary of the territory in place of C. K. Smith.

The eighteenth of December, pursuant to proclamation, was observed as a day of Thanksgiving.

EVENTS OF A. D. 1852.

The third Legislative Assembly commenced its sessions in one of the edifices on Third below Jackson street, which became a portion of the Merchants' Hotel, on the seventh of January, 1852.

This session, compared with the previous, formed a contrast as great as that between a boisterous day in March and a calm June morning. The minds of the population were more deeply interested in the ratification of the treaties made with the Dahkotahs, than in political discussions. Among other legislation of interest was the creation of Hennepin county.

On Saturday, the fourteenth of February, a dog-train arrived at St. Paul from the north, with the distinguished Arctic explorer, Dr. Rae. He had been in search of the long-missing Sir John Franklin, by way of the Mackenzie river, and was now on his way to Europe.

On the fourteenth of May, an interesting lusus naturæ occurred at Stillwater. On the prairies, beyond the elevated bluffs which encircle the business portion of the town, there is a lake which discharges its waters through a ravine, and supplied McKusick's mill. Owing to heavy rains, the hills became saturated with water, and the lake very full. Before daylight the citizens heard the "voice of many waters," and looking out, saw rushing down through the ravine, trees, gravel and diluvium. Nothing impeded its course, and as it issued from the ravine it spread over the town site, covering up barns and small tenements, and, continuing to the lake shore, it materially improved the landing, by a deposit of many tons of earth. One of the editors of the day, alluding to the fact, quaintly remarked, that "it was a very extraordinary movement of real estate."

During the summer, Elijah Terry, a young man who had left St. Paul the previous March, and went to Pembina, to act as teacher to the mixed bloods in that vicinity, was murdered under distressing circumstances. With a bois brule he had started to the woods on the morning of his death, to hew timber. While there he was fired upon by a small party of Dahkotahs; a ball broke his arm, and he was pierced with arrows. His scalp was wrenched from his head, and was afterwards seen among Sisseton Dahkotahs, near Big Stone Lake.

About the last of August, the pioneer editor of Minnesota, James M. Goodhue, died.

At the November Term of the United States District Court, of Ramsey county, a Dahkotah, named Yu-ha-zee, was tried for the murder of a German woman. With others she was traveling above Shokpay, when a party of Indians, of whom the prisoner was one, met them; and, gathering about the wagon, were much excited. The prisoner punched the woman first with his gun, and, being threatened by one of the party, loaded and fired, killing the woman and wounding one of the men.

On the day of his trial he was escorted from Fort Snelling by a company of mounted dragoons in full dress. It was an impressive scene to witness the poor Indian half hid in his blanket, in a buggy with the civil officer, surrounded with all the pomp and circumstance of war. The jury found him guilty. On being asked if he had anything to say why sentence of death should not be passed, he replied, through the interpreter, that the band to which he belonged would remit their annuities if he could be released. To this Judge Hayner, the successor of Judge Fuller, replied, that he had no authority to release him; and, ordering him to rise, after some appropriate and impressive remarks, he pronounced the first sentence of death ever pronounced by a judicial officer in Minnesota. The prisoner trembled while the judge spoke, and was a piteous spectacle. By the statute of Minnesota, then, one convicted of murder could not be executed until twelve months had elapsed, and he was confined until the governor of the territory should by warrant order his execution.

EVENTS OF A. D. 1853.

The fourth Legislative Assembly convened on the fifth of January, 1853, in the two story brick edifice at the corner of Third and Minnesota streets. The Council chose Martin McLeod as presiding officer, and the House Dr. David Day,

Speaker. Governor Ramsey's message was an interesting document.

The Baldwin school, now known as Macalester College, was incorporated at this session of the legislature, and was opened the following June.

On the ninth of April, a party of Ojibways killed a Dahkotah, at the village of Shokpay. A war party, from Kaposia, then proceeded up the valley of the St. Croix, and killed an Ojibway. On the morning of the twenty-seventh, a band of Ojibway warriors, naked, decked, and fiercely gesticulating, might have been seen in the busiest street of the capital, in search of their enemies. Just at that time a small party of women, and one man, who had lost a leg in the battle of Stillwater, arrived in a canoe from Kaposia, at the Jackson street landing. Perceiving the Ojibways, they retreated to the building then known as the "Pioneer" office, and the Ojibways discharging a volley through the windows, wounded a Dahkotah woman who soon died. For a short time, the infant capital presented a sight similar to that witnessed in ancient days in Hadley or Deerfield, the then frontier towns of Massachusetts. Messengers were despatched to Fort Snelling for the dragoons, and a party of citizens mounted on horseback, were quickly in pursuit of those who with so much boldness had sought the streets of St. Paul, as a place to avenge their wrongs. The dragoons soon followed, with Indian guides scenting the track of the Ojibways, like bloodhounds. The next day they discovered the transgressors, near the Falls of St. Croix. The Ojibways manifesting what was supposed to be an insolent spirit, the order was given by the lieutenant in command, to fire, and he whose scalp was afterwards daguerreotyped, and which was engraved for Graham's Magazine, wallowed in gore.

During the summer, the passenger, as he stood on the hurricane deck of any of the steamboats, might have seen, on a scaffold on the bluffs in the rear of Kaposia, a square box covered with a coarsely fringed red cloth. Above it was suspended a piece of the Ojibway's scalp, whose death had caused the affray in the streets of St. Paul. Within, was the body of the woman who had been shot in the "Pioneer" building, while seeking refuge. A scalp suspended over the corpse is supposed to be a consolation to the soul, and a great protection in the journey to the spirit land.

On the accession of Pierce to the presidency of the United States, the officers appointed under the Taylor and Fillmore administrations were removed, and the following gentlemen substituted: Governor, W. A. Gorman, of Indiana; Secretary, J. T. Rosser, of Virginia; Chief Justice, W. H. Welch, of Minnesota; Associates, Moses Sherburne, of Maine, and A. G. Chatfield, of Wisconsin. One of the first official acts of the second Governor, was the making of a treaty with the Winnebago Indians at Watab, Benton county, for an exchange of country.

On the twenty-ninth of June, D. A. Robertson, who by his enthusiasm and earnest advocacy of its principles had done much to organize the Democratic party of Minnesota, retired from the editorial chair and was succeeded by David Olmsted.

At the election held in October, Henry M. Rice and Alexander Wilkin were candidates for deligate to Congress. The former was elected by a decisive majority.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EVENTS FROM A. D. 1854 TO THE ADMISSION OF MINNESOTA TO THE UNION.

Fifth Legislature—Execution of Yuhazee—Sixth Legislature—First bridge over the Mississippi—Arctic Explorer—Seventh Legislature—Indian girl killed near Bloomington Ferry—Eighth Legislature—Attempt to Remove the Capital—Special Session of the Legislature—Convention to frame a State Constitution—Admission of Minnesota to the Union.

The fifth session of the legislature was commenced in the building just completed as the Capitol, on January fourth, 1854. The President of the Council was S. B. Olmstead, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives was N. C. D. Taylor.

Governor Gorman delivered his first annual message on the tenth, and as his predecessor, urged the importance of railway communications, and dwelt upon the necessity of fostering the interests of education, and of the lumbermen.

The exciting bill of the session was the act incorporating the Minnesota and Northwestern Railroad Company, introduced by Joseph R. Brown. It was passed after the hour of midnight on the last day of the session. Contrary to the expectation of his friends, the Governor signed the bill.

On the afternoon of December twenty-seventh, the first public execution in Minnesota, in accordance with the forms of law, took place. Yu-hazee, the Dahkotah who had been convicted in November, 1852, for the murder of a German woman, above Shokpay, was the individual. The scaffold was erected on the open space between an inn called the Franklin House and the rear of the late Mr. J. W. Selby's enclosure in St. Paul. About two o'clock, the prisoner, dressed in a white shroud, left the old log prison, near the court house, and entered a carriage with the officers of the law. Being assisted up the steps that led to the scaffold, he made a few remarks in his own language, and was then executed. Numerous ladies sent in a petition to the governor, asking the pardon of the Indian, to which that officer in declining made an appropriate reply.

EVENTS OF A. D. 1855.

The sixth session of the legislature convened on the third of January, 1855. W. P. Murray was elected President of the Council, and James S. Norris Speaker of the House.

About the last of January, the two houses adjourned one day, to attend the exercises occasioned by the opening of the first bridge of any kind, over the mighty Mississippi, from Lake Itasca to the Gulf of Mexico. It was at Falls of Saint Anthony, and made of wire, and at the time of its opening, the patent for the land on which the west piers were built, had not been issued from the Land Office, a striking evidence of the rapidity with which the city of Minneapolis, which now surrounds the Falls, has developed.

On the twenty-ninth of March, a convention was held at Saint Anthony, which led to the formation of the Republican party of Minnesota. This body took measures for the holding of a territorial convention at St. Paul, which convened on the twenty-fifth of July, and William R. Marshall was nominated as delegate to Congress. Shortly after the friends of Mr. Sibley nominated David Olmsted and Henry M. Rice, the former delegate was also a candidate. The contest was animated, and resulted in the election of Mr. Rice.

About noon of December twelfth, 1855, a four-horse vehicle was seen driving rapidly through St. Paul, and deep was the interest when it was announced that one of the Arctic exploring party, Mr. James Stewart, was on his way to Canada with relics of the world-renowned and world-mourned Sir John Franklin. Gathering together the precious fragments found on Montreal Island and vicinity, the party had left the region of icebergs on the ninth of August, and after a continued land journey from that time, had reached

Saint Paul on that day, *en route* to the Hudson Bay Company's quarters in Canada.

EVENTS OF A. D. 1856.

The seventh session of the Legislative Assembly was begun on the second of January, 1856, and again the exciting question was the Minnesota and Northwestern Railroad Company.

John B. Brisbin was elected President of the Council, and Charles Gardner, Speaker of the House.

This year was comparatively devoid of interest. The citizens of the territory were busily engaged in making claims in newly organized counties, and in enlarging the area of civilization.

On the twelfth of June, several Ojibways entered the farm house of Mr. Whallon, who resided in Hennepin county, on the banks of the Minnesota, a mile below the Bloomington ferry. The wife of the farmer, a friend, and three children, besides a little Dahkotah girl, who had been brought up in the mission-house at Kaposia, and so changed in manners that her origin was scarcely perceptible, were sitting in the room when the Indians came in. Instantly seizing the little Indian maiden, they threw her out of the door, killed and scalped her, and fled before the men who were near by, in the field, could reach the house.

EVENTS OF A. D. 1857.

The procurement of a state organization, and a grant of lands for railroad purposes, were the topics of political interest during the year 1857.

The eighth Legislative Assembly convened at the capitol on the seventh of January, and J. B. Brisbin was elected President of the Council, and J. W. Furber, Speaker of the House.

A bill changing the seat of government to Saint Peter, on the Minnesota River, caused much discussion.

On Saturday, February twenty-eighth, Mr. Balcombe offered a resolution to report the bill for the removal of the seat of government, and should Mr. Rolette, chairman of the committee, fail, that W. W. Wales, of said committee, report a copy of said bill.

Mr. Setzer, after the reading of the resolution, moved a call of the Council, and Mr. Rolette was found to be absent. The chair ordered the sergeant at arms to report Mr Rolette in his seat. Mr. Balcombe moved that further proceedings under the call be dispensed with; which did not prevail. From that time until the next Thursday afternoon, March the fifth, a period of one hundred and twenty-three hours, the Council remained in their chamber without recess. At that time a motion to adjourn prevailed. On Friday another motion was made to dispense with the call of the Council, which did not prevail. On Saturday, the Council met, the president declared the call still pending. At seven and a half p. m., a committee of the House was announced. The chair ruled, that no communication from the House could be received while a call of the Council was pending, and the committee withdrew. A motion was again made during the last night of the session, to dispense with all further proceedings under the call, which prevailed, with one vote only in the negative.

Mr. Ludden then moved that a committee be appointed to wait on the Governor, and inquire if he had any further communication to make to the Council.

Mr. Lowry moved a call of the Council, which was ordered, and the roll being called, Messrs. Rolette, Thompson and Tillotson were absent.

At twelve o'clock at night the president resumed the chair, and announced that the time limited by law for the continuation of the session of the territorial legislature had expired, and he therefore declared the Council adjourned and the seat of government remained at Saint Paul.

The excitement on the capital question was intense, and it was a strange scene to see members of the Council, eating and sleeping in the hall of legislation for days, waiting for the sergeant-at-arms to report an absent member in his seat.

On the twenty-third of February, 1857, an act passed the United States Senate, to authorize the people of Minnesota to form a constitution, preparatory to their admission into the Union on an equal footing with the original states.

Governor Gorman called a special session of the legislature, to take into consideration measures that would give efficiency to the act. The extra session convened on April twenty-seventh, and a message was transmitted by Samuel Medary, who had been appointed governor in place of W. A. Gorman, whose term of office

had expired. The extra session adjourned on the twenty-third of May; and in accordance with the provisions of the enabling act of Congress, an election was held on the first Monday in June, for delegates to a convention which was to assemble at the capitol on the second Monday in July. The election resulted, as was thought, in giving a majority of delegates to the Republican party.

At midnight previous to the day fixed for the meeting of the convention, the Republicans proceeded to the capitol, because the enabling act had not fixed at what hour on the second Monday the convention should assemble, and fearing that the Democratic delegates might anticipate them, and elect the officers of the body. A little before twelve, A. M., on Monday, the secretary of the territory entered the speaker's rostrum, and began to call the body to order; and at the same time a delegate, J. W. North, who had in his possession a written request from the majority of the delegates present, proceeded to do the same thing. The secretary of the territory put a motion to adjourn, and the Democratic members present voting in the affirmative, they left the hall. The Republicans, feeling that they were in the majority, remained, and in due time organized, and proceeded with the business specified in the enabling act, to form a constitution, and take all necessary steps for the establishment of a state government, in conformity with the Federal Constitution, subject to the approval and ratification of the people of the proposed state.

After several days the Democratic wing also organized in the Senate chamber at the capitol, and, claiming to be the true body, also proceeded to form a constitution. Both parties were remarkably orderly and intelligent, and everything was marked by perfect decorum. After they had been in session some weeks, moderate counsels prevailed, and a committee of conference was appointed from each body, which resulted in both adopting the constitution framed by the Democratic wing, on the twenty-ninth of August. According to the provision of the constitution, an election was held for state officers and the adoption of the constitution, on the second Tuesday, the thirteenth of October. The constitution was adopted by almost a unanimous vote. It provided that the territorial officers should retain their offices until the state was admitted into the Union, not anticipating the long delay which was experienced.

The first session of the state legislature commenced on the first Wednesday of December, at the capitol, in the city of Saint Paul; and during the month elected Henry M. Rice and James Shields as their Representatives in the United States Senate.

EVENTS OF A. D. 1858.

On the twenty-ninth of January, 1858, Mr. Douglas submitted a bill to the United States Senate, for the admission of Minnesota into the Union. On the first of February, a discussion arose on the bill, in which Senators Douglas, Wilson, Gwin, Hale, Mason, Green, Brown, and Crittenden participated. Brown, of Mississippi, was opposed to the admission of Minnesota, until the Kansas question was settled. Mr. Crittenden, as a Southern man, could not endorse all that was said by the Senator from Mississippi; and his words of wisdom and moderation during this day's discussion, were worthy of remembrance. On April the seventh, the bill passed the Senate with only three dissenting votes; and in a short time the House of Representatives concurred, and on May the eleventh, the President approved, and Minnesota was fully recognized as one of the United States of America.

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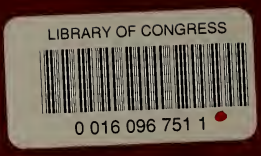
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